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CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE
THE EUROPEAN WAR

NOVEMBER 1915

GERMAN BULGARIA

RUDYARD KIPLING

JOHN GALSWORTHY

ADMIRAL KIRCHHOFF

GEORG BRANDES

EDITH WHARTON

PRINCE TROUBETZKOY

TO OUR READERS:

As the great war is essentially a war of conflicting ideals among the peoples engaged in it, it is the task of **CURRENT HISTORY** to present to its readers the vital embodiments of those ideals. They will look far to find in any other publication such a gathering of the choice and master spirits of this age.

The story is not told merely by dry official reports. As letters depict life, so the men versed in the literature of the nations, such as Kipling, Galsworthy, D'Annunzio, Georg Brandes, Reventlow, and Troubetskoy, and among statesmen Asquith and Helfferich, are the men who truly express the spirit of the war.

In compiling this number it has been felt that the bearings of the war are as truthfully presented in the articles under "Germany's England," for example, showing how the armed German nation regards England and the English—Vice-Admiral Kirchhoff, Dr. Dibelius, and Professor Kuntzemueller have written these articles as exponents of the German view—as in the graphic accounts of the soldiers of the two nations colliding in the Western "drive." The one is the cause and occasion of the other.

A rich assortment of articles expressing the phases of national spirit, by many noted British writers, and an abundant representation of articles and speeches by the writers and statesmen of all the other chief nations are to be found in this number, as well as a most illuminating and exhaustive review of Latin-American conditions coupled with informing and useful war charts, maps, and other details. They adequately express the purpose of **CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE** to produce what has been said significantly about the war and contemporary events by the men most qualified to say it.

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.



TSAR FERDINAND OF BULGARIA

A Recent Portrait. He Has Ranged His Kingdom in the War on the Side
of the Central Powers
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



A RECENT PORTRAIT OF CONSTANTINE
King of the Hellenes and Brother-in-Law of Kaiser Wilhelm II.
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

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WORLD AFFAIRS OF THE MONTH

BRITISH CABINET'S DISSENSIONS.

Simultaneously with the recall of General Sir Ian Hamilton from his command at the Dardanelles, announced on Oct. 19, came the news that Sir Edward Carson, British Attorney General, had relinquished his seat in the British Cabinet. The resignation of Sir Edward, the first open manifestation of the divergence of views known to exist among the Ministers, was the result, according to an authoritative statement, not of the controversy over conscription, but of the condition of affairs in the Near East. Sir Edward himself had made no statement, but it had been feared that he disapproved both the Administration's Balkan policy and its method of confiding the whole conduct of national affairs to a small "Inner Cabinet." On the day of his resignation John E. Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader, declared that the position of the coalition Government was precarious; that a conspiracy existed among men ready to sacrifice national unity in the face of the enemies of Great Britain to further their own predilections and theories, and that a general election was possible. At the same time the leading London newspapers displayed marked signs of uneasiness over the Cabinet situation, declaring that before many days there might be "sensational developments" unless wiser counsels prevail. Other Ministerial resignations were freely talked about, and the very

existence of the Administration seemed threatened. While the question of conscription seemed acute, the failure of the Dardanelles expedition and of British diplomacy with respect to Bulgaria, enabling Germany to begin a great campaign in the Balkans, seemed to be at the bottom of the British Cabinet dissension.

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SIR EDWARD CARSON AND ULSTER.

Sir Edward Carson entered the Asquith coalition Cabinet on May 26, 1915, when the Liberal Cabinet of twenty members was superseded by twelve Liberals, eight Unionists, one Labor Party nominee, (without portfolio,) and one (Lord Kitchener) without any party associations; in addition, the Ministry of Munitions was created and placed in the hands of David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the former Cabinet. Sir Edward was made Attorney General. Although he had served as Solicitor General for Ireland in 1892 and as British Solicitor General from 1900 to 1906, as Queen's Counsel at the English and Irish bars, and had been a Bencher of King's Inns, Dublin, and of the Middle Temple, London, he was little known outside of British legal and political circles until the home rule movement assumed its acute sensational stage more than two years ago. After the general election of 1906 Sir Edward, beginning to be known as "Balfour II." for his opposi-

tion to the Home Rule bill on behalf of the Conservative Protestant communities of Ireland, adopted Ulster as his protégé with a selfless passion that evoked the affectionate and unquestioning loyalty of the population of that province. Cable dispatches could hardly mention one of the many phases through which the Home Rule bill was passing without describing his work—the legal obstructions he placed in the way of the bill and finally his preparations for armed resistance to its promulgation as a law. His untiring energy and his enthusiasm enabled him to overcome physical weakness; his sombre eloquence inspired and his counsels curbed the passions of the most determined and perhaps the most pugnacious section of the population of the United Kingdom. When the war began his voice was at once raised and his influence exerted to turn the magnificent force of Ulster volunteers, whose potential strength had been his creation, into soldiers for the prosecution of the combat provoked by Germany. For ten months he labored with them, as did John Redmond, his sometime enemy, among the Catholic Nationalists, until he finally entered the Ministry. The most notable cases with which Sir Edward had to deal as Attorney General were the Board of Trade's inquiry into the sinking of the Lusitania and the proceedings before the prize court for the condemnation of American meat cargoes which had been seized by the British Government on the ground that they were destined for Germany.

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IN DARKEST LONDON.

Describing "Zeppelins over London," a correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* says:

At other times when a guest was awaited the doors were opened wide and out of all the windows flashed the bright rays of festal lights. Now London prepares every evening to receive a guest, but the town is still, the houses are close shut, and the light is extinguished.

Beginning Oct. 1 "no more than a subdued light" might be cast from London's windows, roofs, or doors, and in trams and omnibuses the lighting must

be "no more than is sufficient to enable fares to be collected," while front and rear lights are extinguished in crossing bridges. The lights on the waterfront are kept screened. All illumination for advertising purposes is done away with. Night traffic has as a consequence been reduced, and the theatres have special problems to draw the public. But the severe raids of October seem to warrant the nightly obscuration of the world's greatest city as well as the appointment of Sir Percy Scott as Director of London's air defenses.

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"FROM HAMBURG TO BAGDAD."

An Arabian Night's dream which the German General Staff is bent upon bringing to practical realization is described in Berlin correspondence of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, headed "When the Final Fight Begins" and written when the German offensive began through Serbia toward Bulgaria, Constantinople, Arabia, Persia, and India began, with its implied menace to the Suez Canal and the trade of Britain's world empire. The map of Europe shows a continuous line of rails from Hamburg to Bagdad. With that secured and with the Balkan States included in a German Customs Union, assuring rich supplies to Germany's industries without danger of a blockade by sea, the Teutons would consider the war won. Count Reventlow has counseled that the Balkan powers would accept the German proposals "only if the central powers prove by their acts that their power and their prestige in all parts of the world are mighty and great enough to remove all doubt." Germany is now intent upon an exhibition of power in the Balkans.

* * *

WAR IN THE GARDEN OF EDEN.

A British success in Mesopotamia, with 1,650 Turkish prisoners taken and strong positions stormed, was conveyed in the report issued on Sept. 30 by the Secretary of State for India, giving an account of the operations on the Tigris. Kut-el-Amara, a hundred miles below Bagdad, was taken. A Turk-

ish army of 7,000 or 8,000 was put to flight. Through tribes of hostile plainsmen the British troops under General Delamain and General Hoghton have pushed their way toward Bagdad since their departure from Bombay a year ago. They proceeded up the Euphrates to Basra, fifty miles from its mouth; thence in April last to Shaiba and Kurna, forty-five miles further, when they put to rout an army of 10,000 Turks and 12,000 Arabs and Kurds, with losses of 6,000. Kut-el-Amara is two hundred miles above Shaiba and less than 100 miles from Bagdad, the British objective. At Kurna, the reputed seat of the Garden of Eden, two actions were fought, one of them during a time of flood, in which ships of the British Navy participated.

* * *

TURKISH REVOLUTION UNLIKELY.

A Paris dispatch to The London Morning Post has allayed the rumors that Turkey is on the eve of a revolution and that there is famine in Constantinople. Talat Bey, Turkish Minister of the Interior, and Enver Pasha, as head of the military power, have frequent meetings with Prince Hohenlohe, the German Ambassador, and the triumvirate rules the people with unquestioned power. The testimony is that of a Frenchman who was enabled to reside in Constantinople until September of this year. He says:

We must firmly set aside all hope of seeing a new Government take the place of the one now in power, even in the event of the heir to the throne, Yussuf Izzeddin, favorable as he is toward the Allies, succeeding to the Crown.

* * *

PERSIAN DISORDERS.

German reports that all is not well with British rule in Persia received confirmation in the House of Commons on Sept. 28 last when Lord Cecil, replying to some remarks by Colonel Yate, reported incidents of revolt in Persian cities. At Ispahan an attack made on the British Consul General had resulted in the withdrawal of the British and Russian colonies there. At Shiraz the British Consul General had been wounded and had died. At Bushire, then

occupied by British troops, two officers had been killed. Lord Cecil hinted at German and Austrian intrigues and the use of German money as the cause of Persian disaffection and suggested as a means of allaying it that the British authorities had "evinced our willingness to ease the financial position of Persia," with "very considerable concessions of that kind, provided the effect was impartial administration."

* * *

THE THIRD GERMAN WAR LOAN.

"Millions for fresh blows" is the characterization of the twelve billions of marks (\$3,000,000,000) in the total of subscriptions for the third German war loan made by Dr. Karl Helfferich, Secretary of the German Imperial Treasury and otherwise known as the "Hindenburg of German finance." The German people have by this loan, equaling or exceeding the great second war loan of Great Britain, contributed a total of six and a quarter billions of dollars to their war. When its success was assured Emperor William on Sept. 24 sent a congratulatory telegram to Dr. Helfferich, as follows:

I thank you for this great success of the financial warfare with which you have been intrusted. The German Nation, full of confidence in its own strength, has shown its enemies and the whole world that in the future it is unanimously united as one man, is unshakable, and will continue to a glorious end this war, obtruded upon us by criminal surprise, and make every necessary offer of blood for the security and liberty of the Fatherland.

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THE ANGLO-FRENCH CREDIT.

A credit loan of \$500,000,000 for five years, issued at a net yield to the American investor of 5½ per cent. and at the popular denominations of \$100 up, will give a net return to England and France of \$480,000,000 in American trade. The money is to remain in the United States, to be paid in installments; its purpose is to stabilize exchange in pounds sterling and francs, with the result of maintaining adequate prices for American exports to the allied powers. The syndicate in charge of the half-billion loan is composed of groups

of bankers and financiers in the most populous sections of the country, with headquarters in New York City, where the local group consists of over forty banking institutions. After the contracts were signed in New York on Oct. 15 Lord Reading, on behalf of the foreign commissioners who negotiated the credit, announced that within a month or two additional credits would be established in this country for the British and French Governments. The first credit was heavily oversubscribed. Never before in modern history has Britain sought a foreign loan.

* * *

WHEN DOES A HAT BECOME A HAT?

Neither the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor the Customs House, nor yet the London Chamber of Commerce can define either hat or headgear. Discussing the proposed tax on imports of hats in Parliament on Sept. 30, Mr. Dennis asked Chancellor McKenna for "a clearly ascertained definition as to what was a hat." The statistical definition in the customs rules referred to "straw hats, felt hats, and hats of other material," while, as a matter of fact, in the straw hats were included pieces of straw made up in the shape of a bath mat. Pieces of felt, more or less circular, sometimes concave and sometimes convex, were classified as hats. Mr. Taylor protested that few of the honorable members would venture to say how many kinds of material were used in the making of ladies' hats, and as the Chancellor had included in the tax "all kinds of headgear," did that mean wigs and nightcaps? After some floundering about, Mr. McKenna decided to withdraw the proposal for a tax which might be easily evaded.

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THE MASSACRES IN ARMENIA.

"There is only one power that can stop the Armenian atrocities, and that is Germany," is the English opinion expressed by Lord Bryce at a meeting in London on Oct. 15. Lord Bryce, who declared that the horrors of the massacre exceeded anything in the

history of persecutions, is supported by the testimony of the eminent American Committee on Armenian Atrocities after its investigation in Turkish Armenia, published on Oct. 4. The deliberate extermination of an entire people is reported as the object of the Turkish Government. Secretary of State Lansing on Oct. 4 sent to Ambassador Morgenthau at Constantinople a message informing the Ottoman Government that the atrocities visited upon the Armenians would, if continued, tend to jeopardize the good feeling of the American people toward the people of Turkey. The State Department had already asked Ambassador von Bernstorff to bring the matter to the attention of the German Foreign Office.

* * *

GERMAN PEACE AND ANNEXATION.

Dr. Umfrid of Stuttgart has contributed an article to the Friedenswarte entitled "Peace Guarantees," protesting against annexation by Germany of any foreign territory if she emerges victorious from the war. Dr. Umfrid says:

The acquisition of territory is no guarantee of peace. The occupation of Alsace-Lorraine is proof enough of this. He who has really the best interests of his people at heart, he who for the future would spare his sons and brothers the fearful misfortunes of the present war must join with us in rejecting every attempt at exercising this violence (annexation) on any European population. Victory shall bring for us the fame of invincibility. After victory we shall stand as a united nation capable of defending its frontiers against a world of enemies, but also as a nation which sees its most enduring protection, not in the employment of iron force but in the irrefragable law of righteousness. Unscrupulous statesmen may act on the principle, "Apres mol le deluge"; we prefer to think that after us will come an empire of peace and justice.

This is doubtless in reply to the famous petition of German professors to Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg (printed in the October number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE) favoring annexation of conquered territory. A second manifesto, signed by professors and prominent men of Germany, has since been issued confessing this belief: "That the incorpora-

tion or annexation of politically independent races and races that have been accustomed to independence should be rejected."

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BRITISH SUBMARINES IN THE BALTIC.

While a semi-official report from Berlin replies to statements made in London and New York that the losses of German submarines had reached an aggregate of sixty with the assertion that it "is less than a quarter of the above number," the news of German submarine warfare on floating British merchanty is notably less. A Washington dispatch of Oct. 1 last reported that the American Government was informed of the development by the British of a submarine telephone enabling them to detect hostile submarines from observation stations afloat and ashore connected with points on the mainland. Huge steel nets were employed in their capture. But the British have now carried the submarine war into the Baltic. Reports from Stockholm tell of seventeen German ore steamers missing, and the Swedish Government on Oct. 13 instructed its Minister at London to protest against the violation of Swedish neutrality by British submarines alleged to have sunk two German steamers in Swedish waters.

* * *

A GERMAN OFFENSIVE IN THE WEST?

By the time this page is before our readers it may be known definitely whether the German counteroffensive on the western front was destined to become a gigantic German offensive, with the intent to destroy the Allies' defensive system and break up and annihilate their field armies. The Rotterdam correspondent of The London Daily Telegraph announced two days after the onset of the Entente's great offensive, beginning Sept. 25, that evidence had accumulated pointing "unmistakably" in this direction. German men and guns were concentrating in tremendous numbers in Belgium. For ten days on end civilian traffic ceased on the Belgian railways, and the vast movements suggested noth-

ing less, quite apart from the Germanic offensive in the Balkans, than a supreme effort to break through the iron barrier between the sea and the Alps. A grand rush, not a slow operation, in attempting which "armies of millions must bleed to death hopelessly," the Frankfurter Zeitung declares is the only means of reaching a western decision.

* * *

A CALDRON OF MINGLED BLOODS.

Gypsies, the Kutz-Vlachs of Rumania, Albanians, Greeks, Serbs, and Turks, abetted by the Greek and Serbian Governments, have aided in evoking among the Bulgars of Macedonia the old Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us!" It does not help matters that the people of Bulgaria persecute the great numbers of Serbs, Greeks, and Turks within their borders with the same ferocity visited upon their congeners in Macedonia. Everywhere in the seething Balkans is bitter war against churches, schools, speech, customs of each among many alien races whose political and racial boundaries are far apart. The Treaty of Bucharest of Aug. 10, 1913, which fixed these artificial limits with the consent of Europe's powers, heated the caldron anew, which is now boiling over with ideas of "Big Bulgaria," "Greater Greece," and a "Serbian Empire"—which all seem pathetically fantastic.

* * *

THE SUFFRAGETTE IS NOW BRITANNIA.

"Britannia will, when the next issue appears, become the name of this paper," Miss Christabel Pankhurst announces with succinctness in The Suffragette of Oct. 1. Why? The house of British liberty is on fire and in danger of being burned to ashes "before women's dream of entering into it has been fulfilled." Every house in Great Britain is a British man's castle of liberty, and the suffragettes had something to do in the way of burning them before the war. But let that pass. Perhaps with the name of their militant organ the Amazons are anxious to have militancy forgotten. Britannia claims the

right to the support of her sons and daughters against her foreign foe.

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GREECE'S VIOLATED NEUTRALITY.

Although the landing of the Anglo-French Balkan Expeditionary Force at Saloniki had not received official announcement on Oct. 3 and Premier Venizelos had uttered a formal protest against the landing as violative of Greek neutrality, the Greek press assumed that it was in process of becoming an accomplished fact. The *Patris*, the chief Government organ at Athens, declared that any attempt on the part of the authorities to resist the debarkation of the Anglo-French forces would not be approved by the Greek people. Greece is a maritime State. It depends on the Entente Powers, who control the Mediterranean and Grecian destinies. Moreover, *Patris* says that Greece's passive protest is consonant with the advice given by Germany to King Albert before the invasion of Belgium, when the Belgian King was blamed for not tolerating the contemplated violation of a neutrality expressly guaranteed by Prussia.

* * *

PLANS FOR AMERICAN DEFENSE.

That the United States Navy is to lead the world in the speed of its war cruisers, which will carry the guns of a dreadnaught and rival express trains; that the Naval Consulting Board on Inventions created by Secretary Daniels, with Thomas A. Edison at its head, has approved the plan of a big research laboratory for the navy which will cost \$5,000,000 and \$2,500,000 annually, and that \$400,000,000 should be appropriated by the Congress this year for the combined army and navy budget, were announcements made by the President's advisers when the estimates were made up on Oct. 15. That is an increase of \$140,000,000 over the last yearly budget. The plan includes a substantial increase in the American Army recommended by Secretary Garrison, probably from 87,000 to 120,000 men, and the creation of a reserve of about 400,000 men through short-

term enlistment of citizens interested in military training.

* * *

NOW FOR THE LUSITANIA CASE.

After the *Arabic* was torpedoed without warning President Wilson made it clear to Germany that there should be no further discussion of the *Lusitania*, *Cushing*, *Gulflight*, and *Nebraskan* cases until that incident was disavowed and indemnity promised. We print in this issue the text of the very full and frank German disavowal of the act of the submarine commander who sank the *Arabic*. Germany has already expressed regret and promised to pay damages in the cases of the *Nebraskan* and *Gulflight*. The settlement of the *Cushing* case awaits the American submission of evidence that the airmen who attacked the vessel were Germans. The American naval experts at Washington have decided, on examining pieces of metal found aboard the *Hesperian*, that she struck a mine instead of a submarine torpedo. In the case of the *Lusitania* the State Department at Washington urges that Germany's naval code, issued when the war broke out, guaranteed safety for civilian passengers and crews of merchant vessels subject to attack.

* * *

"BEEF FOR GERMANY."

The conference on Oct. 4 of counsel for the Chicago packers with State Department officials in Washington resulted in a decision by the packers to appeal from the ruling of the British prize court in London, which condemns the cargoes of the *Kim* and three other Scandinavian vessels because, in the prize court's opinion, they were destined for a German port and to feed the German armed forces. Millions of dollars are at stake in the case. Although the cargoes were bound for Copenhagen, the English authorities point to abnormal imports into Denmark; to intercepted correspondence tending to show that Denmark was not the country to which the cargoes were ultimately consigned, and to the withholding of original documents by the packers necessary to prove a con-

trary destination. But the British decision that the beef was for the armed forces of Germany rests chiefly upon the fact that Germany is a "nation in arms"—a highly novel extension of the theory of conditional contraband.

* * *

LLOYD GEORGE'S PREFACE.

The Berlin correspondent of the Frankfurter Zeitung seizes upon the preface written by the British Minister of Munitions for his book of speeches on the war, to say:

His preface—if one disregards the first sentences, which are merely the confession of a typical Englishman, who judges the outer world only by hearsay and allows no sort of facts to disturb his prejudices—is the most brilliant recognition which one can imagine of the military and economic achievements of Germany and her allies. Or can anything be more shameful for our enemies than that the English Minister has to declare that, although the resources of England, France, Russia, and the whole industrial world are at the disposal of the Allies, the central powers possess, nevertheless, an overwhelming superiority in war material and equipment? This sentence contains nothing less than the confession that in its adaptability German industry has far surpassed the industries of all the countries wholly and partly allied against us.

Lloyd George's preface appears elsewhere in this number of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

* * *

CONSCRIPTION IN ENGLAND.

As with you in the civil war, we shall, in my judgment, be obliged to adopt compulsory service and that before the end of the year.—Lord Northcliffe in a London cable dispatch to *The Sun*.

Possibly Lord Northcliffe, whose agitation for conscription in his newspapers, *The London Times* and *The Daily Mail*, has roused conflicting passions in Great Britain, was thinking of the full-bodied description of the experience of President Lincoln in the experience of President Lincoln in the American civil war that has appeared in *The Nineteenth Century and After* by Mr. J. Ellis Barker and which is largely reproduced elsewhere in this issue. The Union went through the same throes over

conscription that are agitating Britain, and when adopted the method resulted in raising the huge Northern armies that won the war. Great Britain may eventually adopt it. Meanwhile conferences between Prime Minister Asquith, Earl Kitchener, and the chief labor leaders of Britain have been followed by extraordinary efforts during October to raise the recruits needed by voluntary methods.

* * *

PSYCHOLOGY OF "SLACKERS."

In view of the appeal of Lloyd George to trade unionists in Great Britain urging them to work long hours in the production of munitions it is remarkable to find that the scientists of the British Association attribute the unrest and "slackness" of British workers to sheer fatigue. Professor J. H. Muirhead presented at the Association's meeting in Manchester the report of a committee dealing with the question of fatigue from an economic standpoint. It is summarized as follows:

1. The importance of the rôle played by fatigue and other inner states of the individual worker. It is not a monopoly of mental work to be influenced in quantity and quality by the human disposition. For the efficient management and organization of factory and office, account must be taken of the human element just as much as of the material and the machine.
2. The importance of the rest-pause. A break in the work would seem to shed its influence all around; it causes a bracing excitement that avoids accidents beforehand and brings on after it a new lease of working capacity. More important than the length of working day seems the length of spell: the splitting up, the breaking up, of continuous periods of work.
3. The importance of the nature of the work in modifying the onset of fatigue. In uniform repetition work causing "subjective" feelings of monotony "objective" fatigue seems far less effective than in the nerve-taxing work of attending to a loom or of labeling and soldering accurately in place.
4. The importance of taking account of and studying fatigue and of adapting accordingly the hours of labor in each kind of work.

Professor Muirhead thought it quite right, he said, that Lloyd George should appeal to the unions to put aside restrictions which, on the whole, were in

the interests of a class. But that seemed all the more reason why he should keep the teaching of science before him and realize that it might be possible to combine the health of the industrial classes, on whom Britain's salvation depended, with the meeting of present demands. Secretary Florence of the committee suggested that it would be important to find out the scientific limit of work, otherwise in two months' time the whole working population might be crippled.

* * *

A DEED FOR HUMANITY.

While millions may fall in battle, humanity's salvation is wrought by a few. Jenner and a handful of other pioneers in the treatment of infectious disease have saved many more lives than this war can lose. It is with peculiar interest, therefore, that the world will view the act of Marie Davies, a young Englishwoman who has been working in the pathological laboratories of the American Ambulance in Paris, and chose the deadliest strain of bacilli of the dreaded gaseous gangrene to inject into her own body in order that a normal human test might be made of the efficacy of quinine hydrochloride as a remedy. The experiment, performed at the imminent risk of death, was successful. Another disease, one which afflicted the soldiers in France, has been conquered.

* * *

ELECTRIC DETECTOR OF ZEPPELINS.

Despite the best efforts of Sir Percy Scott, London is still vulnerable to Zeppelin raids from Germany. Invading submarines have been detected by microphones at sea in time to repel them. Now Dr. Lee de Forest, the wireless inventor, has been called to London to apply his invention adapting the incandescent electric light to the detection of a faraway airship. By setting up several microphones in a geometrical arrangement and equipping them with the incandescent Audion amplifiers, the line of direction of an approaching Zeppelin can be calculated by its varying effects on the different microphones. A cone of vibration is determined, together with the distance to its apex, the Zeppelin pro-

peller. Then the work of the defensive aeroplanes and airship guns begins.

* * *

MR. EDISON ON PREPAREDNESS.

By machines, not men, Thomas A. Edison declared in his Chicago interview on Oct. 15, potential readiness for war may be had by this nation. While the nations are shooting off large amounts of powder on European battle fronts, build here great factories in which twice as much powder could be manufactured. Locate and store away the material, but don't make the powder. Have everything ready, so that in case of need the factories can begin producing it. Make shell machines instead of turning shells individually on lathes. Grease up the machines and store them away, together with enormous quantities of steel billets. America is the greatest machine country in the world. Prepare to turn out right along twice as much as is now used on the entire European battlefield—then don't make it until the time calls for the output. Then an enormous number of trained officers and drill sergeants is better than a big standing army.

* * *

A NEW PLANT FERTILIZER.

Food products, their relative values and their cost, are factors of such immense importance to nations' food supply at the present moment that the experiments conducted in the laboratory of King's College, London, by Professors Bottomley and Rosenheim are of more than ordinary interest. Peat forms the basis for the new fertilizing agency that is called "humogen." Of recent years evidence has accumulated that the most important element in soil fertility is the bacterial life in the humus—far more important, it is claimed, than many of the mineral plant foods in which gardeners once placed their faith. The King's College experimenters now treat peat in such a way as to make it give off an energy of unprecedented potentiality, especially where quick-growing plants are concerned. "Humogen" is said to have given excellent results in the growing of wheat and barley.

THE THIRD BALKAN WAR

Germany's New Quadruple Alliance

How Bulgaria Defeated the Quadruple Entente's Attempt to Reconstruct the Balkan League

Bulgaria allied with Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro to declare the First Balkan War against Turkey on Sept. 30, 1912; the war was ended by the Treaty of London on May 30, 1913, which compelled Turkey to grant to her opponents its European territory west from Midia on the Black Sea to Enos on the Aegean, together with Crete. The future of Albania, the Aegean Islands, and Mount Athos was left to be decided in future by the powers.

The Second Balkan War arose on July 29, 1913, over the division of territory ceded to the victorious Balkan States. Rumania intervened on July 10, 1913, to get from Bulgaria an extension of her frontier and to impose peace, which was signed on Aug. 10, 1913, in the Treaty of Bucharest, Bulgaria treating with Rumania, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro. By its terms the Rumanian-Bulgarian frontier starts from the Danube above Tartukal, ending on the Black Sea south of Ekrene. Starting from Mount Partarica, the Serbo-Bulgarian frontier was fixed along the old Turco-Bulgarian frontier and the watershed between the Varda and the Sturma, but leaving to Serbia the upper valley of the Strumnitz, and ending at Mount Belashictza. The Greco-Bulgarian frontier starts on the crest of the Belashictza range, ending at the mouth of the Nestor River on the Aegean Sea. The dissatisfaction arising from this marking of the frontiers in the Treaty of Bucharest, by which Bulgaria, particularly, forfeited Macedonia with its largely Bulgar population to Serbia and Greece, have occasioned her new alliance with Turkey and the Teutonic powers and her declaration of war on Serbia —tantamount to a war on the Quadruple Entente.

France's Explanation

By Rene Raphael Viviani
Premier of France

In addressing the French Chamber of Deputies, which reassembled on Oct. 12, 1915, Premier Viviani said that Russian troops on the next day would be fighting alongside French and British troops in the Balkans. France, Great Britain, and Russia were in complete accord, he said, and ample troops were available without weakening any front.

The Premier's remarks were prompted by a resolution of the Finance Committee which read: "The committee is convinced of the necessity of a complete and immediate explanation on the part of the Government." The Socialist group adopted a similar resolution. M. Viviani's address follows:

THE country, owing to the grave events now taking place, must be informed, and the Government takes this opportunity to make a declaration of the situation and its policy.

The Balkan question was raised at the outset of the war, even before it came to the attention of the world. The Bucharest Treaty had left in Bulgaria profound heartburnings. Neither King nor people were resigned to the loss of the fruits of their efforts and sacrifices, and to the consequences of the unjustifiable war they had waged upon their former allies.

From the first day the allied Governments took into account the dangers of such a situation and sought a means to remedy it. Their policy has proceeded in the spirit of justice and generosity, which has characterized the attitude of Great Britain, Russia, and Italy, as well as France.

We have attempted to re-establish the union of the Balkan peoples, and in accord with them seek the realization of their principal national aspirations. The

equilibrium thus obtained by mutual sacrifices really made by each would have been the best guarantee of future peace. Despite constant efforts, in which Rumania, Greece, and Serbia lent their assistance, we have been unable to obtain the sincere collaboration of the Bulgarian Government. The difficulties respecting the negotiations were always at Sofia.

Bulgaria made claims upon her four frontiers at the expense of her four neighbors. We had hoped that Rumania, Greece, and Serbia, to whom magnificent perspectives opened elsewhere, would consent to the sacrifices, in exchange for which they would receive large compensation.

As to Turkey, which had thrown herself into the arms of Germany, there was no need for further consideration.

Our efforts with Rumania were partially successful. Rumania, the people of which country frequently manifested French sympathies, was not unfavorable to the re-establishment of the Balkan alliance. Her partial mobilization permitted her to repulse any threatened aggression—defend herself against all German pressure and observe with the closest attention events along the frontier, both Austrian and Bulgarian. Rumania knew, moreover, that only victory on the part of the Quadruple Entente could assure her independence and satisfy her national aspirations.

In their considerate desire to give the Bulgarian people satisfaction in their aspirations, the powers of the Quadruple Entente did not hesitate to ask valiant Serbia to make heavy concessions. Despite the cruelty of such a sacrifice, and desirous of proving their attachment to the Allies which were combating for their common independence, the Serbian people make this extraordinary effort and resigned themselves, hoping for compensations that the victory of the Quadruple powers would be able to give Serbia elsewhere.

The equivocal attitude of the Bulgarian Government led the Greek Government to maintain a waiting policy. Our diverse proposals received tardy response from the Bulgarian Government, which

asked for additional details and at the same time carried on parallel negotiations with our enemies. Finally, at the moment when the Quadruple Entente informed Bulgaria of the important concessions Serbia was ready to make King Ferdinand signed an accord with Turkey and engaged himself definitely with Germany.

To our friendly question as to his intention the response was Bulgarian mobilization in connection with which the concentration of Austro-German troops on the Danube indicated united action against Serbia.

In the presence of this attitude we immediately declared null and void the advantages and guarantees that we had announced we were ready to offer Bulgaria, and we have resumed with the other Balkan States our liberty of action toward them. On its side heroic Serbia, whose three successive glorious wars have not had the effect of diminishing her courage, silently prepared to meet upon two fronts the concerted attacks of Berlin, Vienna, and Sofia.

From a moral standpoint and from the standpoint of military consequences we could not accept the isolation of Serbia, and the rupture of our communications with our ally and friend.

Our action must be energetic in order to meet the efforts of our enemies, who are dominated on the western front, checked on the eastern front, and who now try to obtain on a new front, with the aid of Bulgaria, a success thus far impossible to realize either in France or Russia.

In order to succor the Serbians we must go through Saloniki, and from the outset of the Bulgarian mobilization we have conducted negotiations toward that end with the President of the Council at Athens. These negotiations are most natural in view of the definite treaty concluded between Serbia and Greece after the second Balkan war in the event of Bulgarian aggression.

They say that we are violating the neutrality of Greece, and they even dare to compare our action to that of Germany in violating the neutrality of Belgium, perjuring her signature and plung-

ing that noble country into fire and bloodshed. The conditions under which we went to Saloniki, the conditions under which we debarked, the welcome we received suffice to demonstrate the stupidity of these accusations.

This energetic action Great Britain and France, in accord with their allies, have undertaken. They have weighed the difficulties.

Our principal preoccupation is the defense of our front, the liberation of our territory by mighty efforts, to which we owe the victories already won upon our soil with the valorous support of our heroic allies, with our forces, sacrifices, and our blood. No Governments could do otherwise in a duty so tragic, but so simple.

But without weakening our front, we have the further task of fulfilling duties which our interest and our honor impose upon us. We are in full accord with the

General in Chief of the French armies. The understanding between the Governments of Great Britain and France is complete, and I cannot better express it than in the following form, namely, from now France and England, in accord with their allies, are completely agreed to go to the aid of Serbia to the extent she has asked our aid, and to assure to the profit of Serbia, Greece, and Rumania respect for the Treaty of Bucharest, of which we are the guarantors. The British Government and the French Government are in accord upon the importance of effectives conforming to the advice of their military authorities. Russia has decided to join with her allies to help the Serbian people, and tomorrow her troops will fight alongside of ours.

Gentlemen, we have done our duty toward our allies. Never has an accord been more direct and more complete between allies, and never have we had greater confidence in a common victory.

Britain's Explanation

By Sir Edward Grey

British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

The diplomatic rather than the military side of the situation was the subject of Sir Edward Grey's statement relative to the Balkan situation which he delivered on Oct. 14, 1915, to the House of Commons. He said:

I PROPOSE to confine myself to a résumé of our diplomatic objects since the war. At the outset we desired that the war should not spread, and in common with our allies we assured Turkey that if she remained neutral Turkey and Turkey's territory should not suffer. This situation was completely changed by the entrance of Turkey into the war, and all obligations on the part of the Allies then ceased.

We and our allies then concentrated upon securing an agreement among the Balkan States, and we used all our influence to secure an accord. Unfortunately, the feeling in the Balkans is not one of union, but of division. It was clear

nothing but a decisive, preponderating advantage for the Allies would have enabled us to secure a policy of union.

We were given to understand in the course of the negotiations that except with regard to Thrace the central powers had offered to Bulgaria more to secure her neutrality than the Allies could in fairness offer. The promises which induced Bulgaria to declare war were given by the central powers at the expense of her neighbors and without any corresponding advantage to them.

We have remained throughout on friendly relations with Rumania, who has favored the policy of a Balkan union.

It is the policy of bringing about a Balkan war that the sovereigns and Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria—the sovereigns and the Governments—have succeeded in carry-

ing into effect. We were given to understand that in order to secure a Balkan union there were certain concessions Bulgaria would require, especially in Thrace and Macedonia.

The Allies were ready to do all in their power to secure these for Bulgaria, but to obtain the consent of Serbia and Greece it was an essential preliminary that Bulgaria take sides with the Allies against Turkey. In other words, if Bulgaria was to realize her hopes and aspirations she must co-operate in a common cause in which the hopes and aspirations of other neighboring States were engaged.

It will be enough to say that these reasonable hopes and aspirations were, in the main, founded upon opportunity to peoples of the same race, the same sentiments, and the same religion to join themselves to a State under a Government most akin to them.

Sir Edward praised the skill and courage with which Serbia had turned upon her foes and driven them out of her country as one of the outstanding features of the war. Once again, he said, the crisis was upon Serbia and she was meeting it with the same splendid courage. The entry of Bulgaria made a great difference in the situation and raised the question of treaty obligations between Greece and Serbia.

Regarding the attitude of Greece, he

referred to the statements made by Former Premier Venizelos and the new Grecian Premier, M. Zaimis, and said it must be obvious that the interests of Greece and Serbia were now one. In the long run, he said, they must stand or fall together. Through Greek territory alone could assistance be sent to Serbia, and that this assistance was welcome was sufficiently proved by the reception accorded the allied troops. Great Britain was giving Serbia all the help in her power, freely and unconditionally. He continued:

In view of the treaty between Greece and Serbia, how can there be any other attitude on the part of Greece toward the assistance offered through her to Serbia? In the steps taken we acted in the closest co-operation with France, and the co-operation of Russian troops is promised as soon as they can be made available.

Serbia is fighting for her national existence, and with her the struggle is just now intense and acute, but the struggle is one and the issue is one, in whatever theatre of war fighting is taking place. All the Allies are fighting for national existence, and for all who are fighting the same issues arise. It is a fight for the right to live not under the shadow of Prussian militarism, which does not observe the ordinary rules of humanity in war, and to leave us free from the menace of oppression.

Tsar Ferdinand and the Opposition Leaders

The following telegram from The London Daily Telegraph's special correspondent at Milan, dated Sept. 24, appeared in that newspaper on Oct. 5, 1915:

ITALY is in close touch with her Balkan neighbors, and now it is the general belief that Bulgaria means to attack Serbia as soon as her mobilization is concluded, and that Tsar Ferdinand has resolutely thrown off his mask, and shows himself what he really is—namely, a Hungarian officer who boldly champions the cause of Austria and Germany, even in face of a sturdy warning

from independent Bulgarians, who have spoken threats of revolution in his own palace.

“Mind your own head; I shall mind mine,” are the words which he spoke to M. Stambulivski last Friday, when he received five Opposition members who had come to warn him of the danger to which he was exposing himself and the nation.

The Corriere della Sera today publishes a long wire from its special correspondent, Signor Civinini, at Sofia, with full and graphic details of this now his-

toric meeting. In order to give these details the correspondent had to cross into Serbia and wire his dispatch from Nish. The five members, MM. Gueshoff, Danoff, Malinoff, Zanoff, and Stambulivski, were received by the King in the Red Room at the Royal Palace, and chairs had been placed for them around a big table. The King entered the room, accompanied by Prince Boris, the heir apparent, and his Secretary, M. Bobcovitch. "Be seated, gentlemen," said the King, as he sat down himself as if for a very quiet talk. His Secretary took a seat at a table a little apart to take notes, but the conversation immediately became so heated and rapid that he was unable to write it down.

The first to speak was M. Malinoff, leader of the Democratic Party, who said:

The policy adopted by the Government is one of adventure tending to throw Bulgaria into the arms of Germany, and driving her to attack Serbia. This policy is contrary to the aspirations, feeling, and interests of the country, and if the Government obstinately continues in this way it will provoke disturbances of the greatest gravity.

It was the first allusion to the possibility of a revolution, but the King listened without flinching. M. Malinoff concluded:

For these reasons we beg your Majesty, after having vainly asked the Government, to convvoke the Chamber immediately, and we ask this convocation for the precise object of saving the country from dangerous adventures by the formation of a coalition Ministry.

The King remained silent, and, with a nod, invited M. Stambulivski to speak.

M. Stambulivski is the leader of the Agrarian Party, a man of sturdy rustic appearance, accustomed to speak out his mind boldly, and exceedingly popular among the peasant population. He grew up himself as a peasant, and wore the laborer's blouse up till very recently. He stood up, and, looking the King straight in the face, said in a resolute tone:

In the name of every farmer in Bulgaria I add to what M. Malinoff has just said, that the Bulgarian people hold you personally responsible more than your Government for the disastrous adventure of 1913. If a similar adventure were to be repeated now its gravity this time would

be irreparable. The responsibility would once more fall on your policy, which is contrary to the welfare of our country, and the nation would not hesitate to call you personally to account. That there may be no mistake as to the real wishes of the country, I present to your Majesty my country's demand in writing.

He handed the King a letter containing the resolution voted by the Agrarians. The King read it, and then turned to M. Zanoff, leader of the Radical Democrats, and asked him to speak. M. Zanoff did so, speaking very slowly and impressively, and also looking the King straight in the face:

Sire, I had sworn never again to set foot inside your palace, and if I came today, it is because the interests of my country are above personal questions, and have compelled me. Your Majesty may read what I have to say in this letter, which I submit to you in behalf of our party.

He handed the letter, and the King read it and still remained silent. Then he said, turning to his former Prime Minister and ablest politician: "Gueshoff, it is now your turn to speak." M. Gueshoff got up and said:

I also am fully in accord with what M. Stambulivski has just said. No matter how severe his words may have been in their simple, unpolished frankness, which ignores the ordinary formalities of etiquette, they entirely express our unanimous opinion. We all, as representing the Opposition, consider the present policy of the Government contrary to the sentiments and the interests of the country because by driving it to make common cause with Germany it makes us the enemies of Russia, which was our deliverer, and the adventure into which we are thus thrown compromises our future. We disapprove most absolutely of such a policy, and we also ask that the Chamber be convoked and a Ministry formed with the co-operation of all parties.

After M. Gueshoff, the former Premier M. Daneff also spoke and associated himself with what had already been said.

The King remained still silent for a while. Then he also stood up and said:

Gentlemen, I have listened to your threats and will refer them to the President of the Council of Ministers that he may know and decide what to do.

All present bowed, and a chilly silence followed. The King had evidently taken

the frank warning given him as a threat to him personally, and he walked up and down nervously for a while. Prince Boris turned aside to talk with the Secretary, who had resumed taking notes. The King continued pacing to and fro, evidently very nettled. Then, approaching M. Zanoff, and as if to change the conversation, he asked him for news about this season's harvest. M. Zanoff abruptly replied:

Your Majesty knows that we have not come here to talk about the harvest, but of something far more important at present, namely, the policy of your Government, which is on the point of ruining our country. We can on no account approve a policy that is anti-Russian. If the Crown and M. Radoslavoff persist in their policy we shall not answer for the consequences. We have not desired to seek out those responsible for the disaster of 1913, because other grave events have been precipitated, but it was a disaster due to criminal folly. It must not be repeated by an attack on Serbia by Bulgaria, as seems contemplated by M. Radoslavoff, and which, according to all appearances, has the approval of your Majesty. It would be a premeditated crime, and deserve to be punished.

The King hesitated a moment, and then held out his hand to M. Zanoff, saying: "All right; at all events, I thank you for your frankness." Then approaching M. Stambulivski, he repeated to him his question about the harvest.

M. Stambulivski, as a simple peasant, at first allowed himself to be led into discussion of this secondary matter, and had expressed the hope that the prohibition on the export of cereals would be removed, when he suddenly remembered, and said:

But this is not the moment to speak of these things. I again repeat to your Majesty that the country does not want a policy of adventure, which cost it so dear in 1913. It was your own policy, too.

Before 1913 we thought you were a great diplomatist, but since then we have seen what fruits your diplomacy bears. You took advantage of all the loopholes in the Constitution to direct the country according to your own views. Your Ministers are nothing; you alone are the author of this policy, and you will have to bear the responsibility.

The King replied frigidly "The policy which I have decided to follow is that which I consider the best for the welfare of the country."

"It is a policy that will only bring misfortune," replied the sturdy Agrarian. "It will lead to fresh catastrophes and compromise not only the future of our country but that of your dynasty, and may cost you your head."

It was as bold a saying as ever was uttered before a King, and Ferdinand looked astonished at the peasant who was thus speaking to him. He said: "Do not mind my head; it is already old; rather mind your own," he added, with a disdainful smile, as he turned away.

M. Stambulivski retorted: "My head matters little, Sire. What matters more is the good of our country."

The King paid no more attention to him, and took M. Gueshoff and M. Danoff apart, who again insisted on convoking the Chamber, and assured him that M. Radoslavoff's Government would be in a minority. They also referred to the Premier's oracular utterances.

"Ah!" said the King, "has Radoslavoff spoken to you? And what has he said?"

"He has said," replied the leaders, "that Bulgaria would march with Germany and attack Serbia."

The King made a vague gesture, and then said: "Oh, I did not know!"

The incidents of this famous interview are beginning to be gradually known in Sofia, and have created a deep impression in political circles.

Russia's Ultimatum

By Sergius Sazonoff

Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Sergius Sazonoff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, made this statement to The Associated Press correspondent at Petrograd on Oct. 2, 1915:

THE situation in the Balkans is very grave. The whole Russian Nation is aroused by the unthinkable treachery of Ferdinand and his Government to the Slavic cause. Bulgaria owes her independence to Russia,* and yet seems willing now to become a vassal of Russia's enemies. In her attitude toward Serbia, when Serbia is fighting for her very existence, Bulgaria puts herself in a class with Turkey. We do not believe that the Bulgarian people sympathize with the action of their ruler. Therefore the Allies are disposed to give them time for reflection.

If they persist in their present treacherous course they must answer to Russia. An ultimatum has not been presented yet, but I presume one will be within a short time.

It was announced at Petrograd on Oct. 3, 1915, that the Russian Minister at Sofia had been requested to hand M. Radoslavoff, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, the following note:

Events which are taking place in Bulgaria at this moment give evidence of the definite decision of King Ferdinand's

*The words of M. Sazonoff, "Bulgaria owes her independence to Russia," refer to the fact that when, on Oct. 5, 1908, the sovereignty of Austria-Hungary was extended over Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria having been informed by Russia of what Vienna was contemplating straightway declared herself independent of Turkey. Until the second Balkan war of June and July, 1913, Russia looked upon Bulgaria as the one Balkan State best calculated to extend Slavism in the peninsula under Russian guidance. The ambition of Ferdinand to dominate the Balkans after the defeat of the Turks in the first Balkan war, 1912-13, and his signing of an offensive treaty with Austria-Hungary in order to realize those ambitions turned Russia against Bulgaria and encouraged Rumania to invade Bulgaria the moment the latter attacked Serbia and Greece.

Government to place the fate of its country in the hands of Germany. The presence of German and Austrian officers at the Ministry of War and on the staffs of the army, the concentration of troops in the zone bordering on Serbia, and the extensive financial support accepted from our enemies by the Sofia Cabinet no longer leave any doubt as to the object of the present military preparations of Bulgaria.

The powers of the Entente, who have at heart the realization of the aspirations of the Bulgarian people, have on many occasions warned M. Radoslavoff that any hostile act against Serbia would be considered as directed against themselves. The assurances given by the head of the Bulgarian Cabinet in reply to these warnings are contradicted by facts.

The representative of Russia, bound to Bulgaria by the imperishable memory of her liberation from the Turkish yoke, cannot sanction by his presence preparations for fratricidal aggression against a Slav and allied people.

The Russian Minister has therefore received orders to leave Bulgaria with all the staffs of the legation and the Consulates if the Bulgarian Government does not within twenty-four hours openly break with the enemies of the Slav cause and of Russia, and does not at once proceed to send away the officers belonging to the armies of States who are at war with the powers of the Entente.

ALLIES' ULTIMATUM.

The circumstances which attended the presentation of the notes of the Entente powers to Bulgaria are set forth in an official communication received on Oct. 7, 1915, at Paris, from Sofia. This announcement, filed in Sofia by the correspondent of the Havas News Agency, was issued by the Bulgarian Government before it made reply to the notes. The statement follows:

On Monday [Oct. 4] between 4 and 6

o'clock in the afternoon the President of the Council received a visit from the representatives of France, Russia, and Great Britain. The first two presented notes, not identical, of the character of ultimata, in which, giving a forced interpretation of the armed neutrality proclaimed by Bulgaria and of the object of Bulgaria's mobilization, it was insisted, under threats of the rupture of diplomatic relations, that Bulgaria break off openly within twenty-four hours its relations with the central powers and send away the German and Austrian officers said to be among the staffs of the different Bulgarian armies.

The representative of Great Britain presented a verbal note declaring that Great Britain would break with Bulgaria if hostilities should occur in the Balkans as the result of Bulgarian mobilization.

In consequence of the absence of instructions, the representative of Italy

has not yet joined his colleagues in this action.

The Bulgarian Government today will hand to the representatives three notes, not identical, in which it will explain the spirit of armed neutrality of Bulgaria, while pointing out the danger that may arise from fresh encouragement given to Serbia. Rejecting categorically the accusation relative to the pretended presence of German and Austrian officers in the Bulgarian Army, it will declare it cannot drive away officers who do not exist.

At the same time the Government will present a response to two preceding notes of the Entente powers, of which their representatives have been advised through the French Minister.

The Bulgarian Government purposes to publish a Green Book on the conversations and negotiations with the powers of the Quadruple Entente.

Bulgaria's Defiance

An Associated Press dispatch dated at Petrograd on Oct. 8, 1915, reported:

BULGARIA'S reply to the Russian ultimatum was transmitted in the

Bulgarian language, notwithstanding the fact that Russian is the traditional tongue in intercourse among the Slavic countries. The message was so badly garbled in transmission that the Foreign Office has not been able accurately to reconstruct the text, although extraordinary efforts have been made and the message has been repeated by sending points.

The message is described here as "bold to the verge of insolence." In substance, Bulgaria denies German officers are in the staffs of the Bulgarian armies, but says that if they are present that fact concerns only Bulgaria, which reserves the right to invite whomsoever she likes. Regarding acceptance of financial assistance from Germany, Bulgaria maintains the right to make loans wherever she pleases. As to the demand that relations be broken with the "enemies of Slav-

dom," the Bulgarian Government asserts it is its privilege to choose friends to suit itself and join with any group it prefers.

The general tenor of the reply is such as to indicate that the Bulgarian Government has no objection to withdrawal from Sofia of such foreign diplomatists as disprove its conduct.

BULGARIA'S MANIFESTO.

A dispatch from Berlin of Oct. 9, 1915, transmitted by wireless to Sayville, N. Y.:

The Frankfurter Zeitung asserts that the Bulgarian Government has issued a manifesto to the nation announcing its decision to enter the war on the side of the central powers. This manifesto, as quoted from the Frankfurter Zeitung by the Overseas News Agency, states that Bulgaria would commit suicide if she did not align herself with Germany and her allies.

The manifesto, as given out by the news agency, follows:

The central powers have promised us



FERDINAND, KING OF RUMANIA

His Kingdom Is Trembling in the Balance of the New Balkan Conflict
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)



GRAND DUCHESS MARIE OF RUSSIA

She Is the Third Daughter of the Czar, and Is Sixteen Years Old.
(Photo from Bain News Service.)

parts of Serbia, creating an Austro-Bulgarian border line, which is absolutely necessary for Bulgaria's independence of the Serbians.

We do not believe in the promises of the Quadruple Entente. Italy, one of the Allies, treacherously broke her treaty of thirty-three years. We believe in Germany, which is fighting the whole world to fulfill her treaty with Austria.

Bulgaria must fight at the victors' side. The Germans and Austro-Hungarians are victorious on all fronts. Russia soon will have collapsed entirely. Then will come the turn of France, Italy, and Serbia. Bulgaria would commit suicide if she did not fight on the side of the central powers, which offer the only possibility of realizing her desire for union of all Bulgarian peoples.

The news agency says further:

The manifesto to the people, which is not only a historical document but contains valuable material in regard to Bulgarian politics and economics, states that Russia is fighting for Constantinople and the Dardanelles, Great Britain to destroy Germany's competition, France for Alsace and Lorraine, and the other allies to rob foreign countries. The central powers are fighting to defend property and assure peaceful progress.

The loyal neutrality maintained by Bulgaria has been advantageous up to the present time, the manifesto says, and it is only now that military and economic preparations have been completed.

The manifesto states that Serbia, the worst enemy of Bulgaria, has oppressed the purely Bulgarian population of Macedonia in the most barbarous manner, the male population being compelled to die for Serbia's cause, the women being outraged, and the rivers running red with blood.

The Amsterdam correspondent of Reuter's Telegram Company on Oct. 9 sent further extracts from the manifesto issued by Bulgaria as published by the Frankfurter Zeitung. The correspondent says the document, which purports to explain the decision of King Ferdinand and

Premier Radoslavoff to join the central powers, fills seven columns in the newspaper. It is stated that the manifesto has been widely circulated.

Defending Bulgaria's adoption of a policy of "strong and loyal neutrality," states the correspondent, the document says:

In the beginning none could foresee how events would develop and which side would be victorious. If the Government had resolved to participate in the great war it might have committed the fault of joining the side that would have been beaten, and thus jeopardize the existence of the present Bulgarian Empire. Neutrality has enabled us to bring the military material and preparedness of our army to such a pitch as never before has been reached.

A copy of the manifesto of King Ferdinand to the Bulgarians reached London on Oct. 16, 1915. The manifesto implies that Bulgaria has no quarrel with the Entente powers. It explains that they, like Germany, were prepared to give Bulgaria the greater part of Macedonia. It continues:

Our treacherous neighbor, Serbia, alone remained inflexible in the face of the advice of her friends and allies. Far from listening to their counsels, Serbia, in animosity, stupidly attacked our territory, and our brave troops have been forced to fight for the defense of their own soil.

In conclusion, King Ferdinand says:

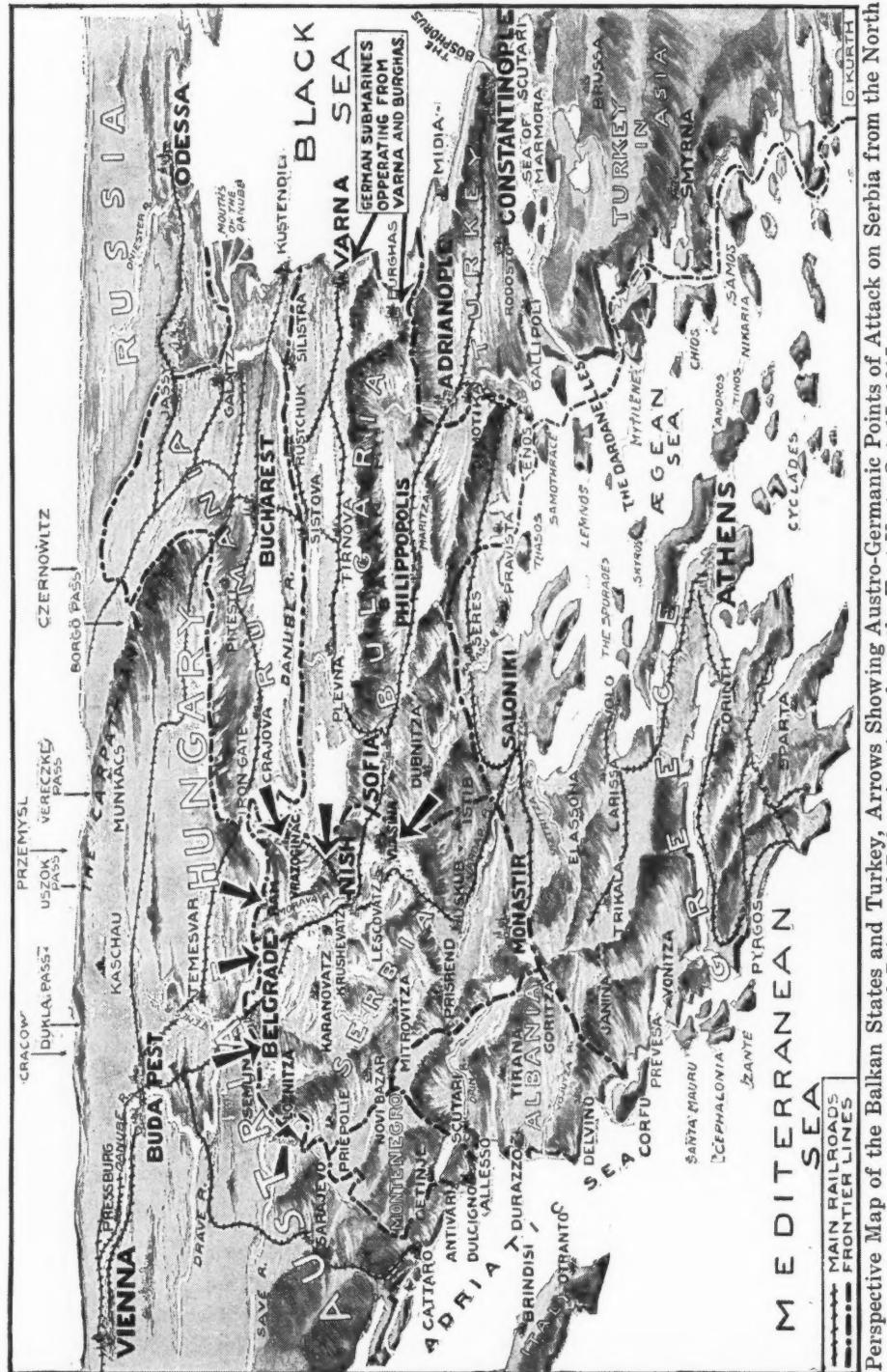
The European war is nearing a close. The victorious army of the central empires in Serbia are advancing rapidly. We command our valiant army to drive the enemy from the limits of our kingdom and crush this felon neighbor. We shall fight the Serbs at the same time as the brave armies of the central empires.

Greece and Bulgaria

GREECE MOBILIZES.

At a session in the Greek Chamber on Sept. 30, 1915, Premier Venizelos characterized the summons to the colors of Bulgaria's forces a grave menace to peace, and virtually called on that power

to demobilize. The late Premier Gounaris, amid great enthusiasm, extended unreserved support to the Government's policy and the House ratified the decree of national mobilization and authorized a war loan of \$30,000,000. As soon as the



Perspective Map of the Balkan States and Turkey, Arrows Showing Austro-Germanic Points of Attack on Serbia from the North and Points of Bulgarian Attack on the East Up to Oct. 15, 1915.

Chamber had assembled Premier Venizelos mounted the tribune and made the following declaration:

IN September of last year I explained to the House the policy of the Greek Government toward the international situation as created by the European war. In February last we considered that the time had come to change that attitude, but, having disagreed with the Crown, the Cabinet resigned.

After the recent elections, having again been called to power, I considered in view of the great changes that have taken place meanwhile in the international situation that we should return to our original policy; but this normal situation was suddenly disturbed by the Bulgarian general mobilization, to which measure Greece could make but one reply—by ordering mobilization likewise.

I must inform the House that after these two measures reassuring assurances were given by both sides. M. Radoslavoff, the Bulgarian Premier, declared to our Minister in Sofia that Bulgaria's mobilization had no purpose of attack either against us or our ally, Serbia, but was necessitated by Bulgaria's propinquity to the theatre of war and the object was to enable Bulgaria to maintain a policy of armed neutrality. We replied that so long as such was the significance of the Bulgarian mobilization our own must not be considered as having any other object than the same armed neutrality.

Despite these assurances, however, the situation must still be considered grave. Modern mobilization means such a serious dislocation of the country's financial and social life and entails such enormous expenditure that it cannot long be continued without serious danger to peace, and this danger is all the greater when one of the mobilized States does not conceal the fact that territorial statutes established by treaty between her and neighboring States are not considered worthy of respect.

I do not say this to depict the situation as being darker than it is in reality, but may not conceal the real state of affairs from the nation, for although everybody in Greece desires peace I know well the

incomparable spirit of self-sacrifice with which the Greek Nation under arms is ready to defend both the country's territory and the nation's vital interests and oppose any attempt of any one Balkan State to acquire for itself a preponderant position which would put an end to the political and moral independence of the rest. Nevertheless, I should be happy if the quieting assurances given by the Governments of both the mobilized Balkan States should be followed by the simultaneous and prompt recall of mobilization and thus avert danger to peace.

The Premier's speech was received with prolonged applause by the whole House and galleries. M. Gounaris, as leader of the major Opposition, rose and in a few words stated that his party approved both the mobilization and other measures adopted by the Government, and in such matters Greeks of all parties were entirely as one.

VENIZELOS RESIGNS.

An Athens dispatch to the Havas Agency, dated Oct. 6, 1915, said:

Premier Venizelos has resigned,* the King having informed him that he was unable to support the policy of his Ministry.

After Premier Venizelos, in a session which lasted till 4:30 o'clock on Oct. 5,

* This was the second time within a few months that Premier Venizelos had resigned because of disagreement with the King, who is a brother-in-law of the German Emperor and has steadily opposed M. Venizelos's policy of co-operation with the Entente Allies. Following his former resignation general elections were held in Greece and his party was returned to power by a decisive majority. M. Venizelos was recalled by the King, with whom he effected a compromise and again became Premier.

King Constantine has insisted throughout the present crisis that Greece's treaty of alliance with Serbia was abrogated by the Serbians in offering concessions to Bulgaria. The order to mobilize the forces of the nation, issued on Sept. 30, was signed by the monarch with undisguised reluctance after M. Venizelos had had an all-day conference with him. During the conference it became rumored in Athens that the Cabinet had resigned, and the report caused intense indignation among the crowds which had gathered before the Foreign Office and the newspaper bulletin boards to await news of the latest developments.

1915, had explained to the Chamber of Deputies the circumstances connected with the landing of allied troops at Saloniki, the Chamber passed a vote of confidence in the Government. The vote was 142 to 102, with thirteen members not voting.

Answering protests made by the Opposition "in the name of Hellenism" against the occupation of Greek territory by foreign troops, the Premier gave a frank exposition of the attitude of the Government, after which he invited fullest discussion of the foreign policy of Greece. He said:

Some time has passed since the Entente powers have made requests of Greece. Today they ask nothing but this—they who offer Serbia, Greece's ally, succor in the event of circumstances which would require Greece herself, under her alliance, to give Serbia help. Great nations may with impunity treat treaties as scraps of paper. For smaller countries such a policy would be suicidal.

The wildest disorder broke out. As reported by The Associated Press, the Premier succeeded in dominating the situation, his voice rising above the tumult and the clang of the bell. He cried:

We have a treaty with Serbia. If we are honest we will leave nothing undone to insure its fulfillment in letter and spirit. Only if we are rogues may we find excuses to avoid our obligations.

"TO THE LAST DRACHMA."

In a statement to The Associated Press correspondents just before his resignation M. Venizelos said:

One thing is absolutely certain: Greece will abide by the terms of her alliance with Serbia, not only in letter but in spirit, to the last man and the last drachma. More, the Greco-Serbian treaty foresaw only the possibility of a Balkan war. When it was made, none could predict the present European conflict with all its widespread complications. But the spirit of the alliance was one of mutual defense, and because the dangers threatening our ally increased with unforeseen conditions there is no excuse for hiding behind the verbiage of the treaty to escape the responsibility of our pledge.

Though the entire available forces of the general empires be added to those of Bulgaria in an attempt to crush Serbia, Greece will unflinchingly remain true to her passed word. The honor of Greece is at stake. You may be certain it will not be betrayed.

Nor, indeed, has there ever been at the bottom the slightest wavering about the Greek people respecting their responsibility to enter the war in defense of their ally under the terms of alliance, although every desperate effort has been made to becloud the issue.

The spectacle of part of her press subservient to foreign influences has shamed and humiliated Greece. A people so eager to read—so much so that every bootblack, while he shines your shoes, is reading a book or newspaper—has been temporarily confused by an inspired and venal propaganda. But the feeling of loyalty to our national obligations has never for a moment been really affected.

What Greece has said she will do, she will do. She is ready to fight, and, if Serbia needs her, she will fight.

Respecting the landing of French troops at Saloniki, there is but one thing to be said—we have protested, of course, for we have wished to remain neutral in this European struggle, and we wish it now, if it were consistent with our rights and duties. But the Greek people cannot war on France, and would not if they could.

What France has done for Greece no Greek can forget. Comes now France, asking nothing of Greece, declaring categorically her sole intention to be to support Greece's ally in the case of a need wherein Greece herself would be bound to support her neighbor. It is something offered, not something asked. Indeed, since I have been Premier, I may say quite frankly that the Entente has asked not one concession of Greece.

Therefore, when France gives every guarantee respecting the integrity of Greece, when France's motives for landing troops on Greek soil are explained as in the nature of accomplishing the very purpose of Greece's treaty of alliance with Serbia, we can see no reason



Line Held by the Allied Attacking Forces at Gallipoli on Oct. 15, 1915.

why Greece should resist what she cannot help and what ultimately cannot fail to be to her advantage.

It must not be forgotten that, while no sacrifice has been asked of Greece to which her international obligations do not already impel her, the realization

of the dream, which sleeps in the heart of every true Greek, has been held out to her without conditions.

For centuries the Greeks have wanted two things—a free and united Greece and freedom for Greeks wherever they might be. The former we have gained with

blood, heroism, and sacrifice, extended over thirty centuries. The latter, in a larger degree than we could hope to achieve unaided for centuries to come, perhaps, is suddenly made possible to us.

Whoever thinks what it would mean to Greece that those of our blood line on the opposite shore may one day soon come under our flag cannot be indifferent to the realization of a greater Greece for which we are asked to pay nothing save the keeping of our pledged word, to which our honor binds us in any case. This is the position of Greece today, which I am more glad to make clear to America because I have just been approached by William Hamilton of New York with a most generous offer of assistance for Greek refugees on behalf of the American Mercy and Relief Committee.

That help should be offered from America at this juncture is a source of most sincere joy to me. For don't forget that I am a Cretan. I remember the war for the liberty of Crete. No Greek, certainly no Cretan, could ever forget, whatever the destinies of Greece may be in the war upon which she is now embarked, that her debt to America is and will be unpayable.

A NEUTRAL CABINET.

On Oct. 10, 1915, the Greek Chamber was informed by Premier Zaimis, who succeeded Premier Venizelos, forming a new Cabinet in agreement with King Constantine, in order the better to assure the vital interests of Greece, her neutrality "will for the present be armed," says a Reuter dispatch from Athens. The Premier added that the future course of the Ministry would be adapted to meet events as they occurred, and expressed the belief that the Government's course had the support of the people. In reply, Former Premier Venizelos said:

No one could wish to create internal difficulties in the country in view of the present extremely critical situation. The Chamber will give its support to the Government as long as the Government policy does not alter the principles of my policy, upon which the Chamber already has given its votes. Even if there existed no treaty with Serbia, our interests would oblige us to depart from neutral-

ity, as another States wishes to aggrandize itself at our expense.

The question is not whether we ought to make war or not, but when we ought to enter the war. In any case we ought not to allow Bulgaria to crush Serbia in order that she then may attack us with all her forces. The national soul says it is to the interest of Greece that Bulgaria should be crushed. If Bulgaria should triumph, Hellenism would be completely vanquished.

The Daily Chronicle's Athens correspondent gives the following passages from Former Premier Venizelos's speech in the Chamber. Referring to the probable result of the war, he said:

It is impossible to prophesy with accuracy, but logic must lead us to believe that to accept a victory of the central empires as certain, which the German propaganda endeavored to persuade the Greek people to do, is a dangerous attitude.

If Germany was not able to win at the beginning of the struggle, when she found her opponents unprepared, we must face the logic of the conclusion that victory is more than doubtful now, when her opponents have at their command much vaster resources in men and treasure to draw upon, and have command of the seas. Indeed, as time goes on, and if they can gain more time, reason points to the conclusion that England and her allies must win.

Referring to the new Cabinet the ex-Premier said that he believed it was inspired with a benevolent attitude toward the Entente, but in its policy of neutrality there could be no doubt that Greece was rendering an immense service to Germany. For that service she was entitled to ask for compensation. He said:

I have been told that Germany offers to guarantee our territorial integrity and to give us some extension of territory in Southern Albania. The Government should see that promise regularized in the direction of a declaration to the Government. The Cabinet should also see to it that the guarantee of integrity is not merely for the duration of the war,

which would be useless, but for a period, say, of ten years. Inquiry should also be made as to what territory has been promised to Bulgaria.

Take care, gentlemen, take care of that greater Greece which I have handed over to you. Take care that you do not hand over to your successors a smaller Greece. Gentlemen, I have finished. I feel that I have done my duty.

A REPUDIATED TREATY.

An Associated Press dispatch dated at Athens on Oct. 12, 1915, reports:

The Greek reply to Serbia's representations that the Bulgarian attack on Serbia completes the act of aggression contemplated under the treaty of alliance between Greece and Serbia, and asking if the Greek Army is ready to enter action against Bulgaria, was delivered today.

Beginning with the declaration that "the Royal Government greatly regrets that it is unable to accede to Serbia's request," the reply explains that the alliance of 1911, foreseeing Bulgarian aggression, was limited to preserving an equilibrium among the Balkan States.

"The preamble of the treaty," the reply continues, "defines it as of a purely Balkan character, not applying to a general conflagration. Both the treaty of alliance and the military convention completing it prove in the first article that

the contracting parties contemplated only isolated attacks by Bulgaria against one of them."

The note argues minutely that the treaty does not cover the situation which has arisen today—a situation in which "Greece might destroy herself without hope of saving Serbia, which cannot wish such a result." It is added that "common interests demand that the Greek forces still be kept in reserve for a better use later."

The note concludes with the declaration that Greece intends to remain an armed neutral, and "assures Serbia that Greece will continue to give her every assistance and facility compatible with Greece's exclusively international position."

A dispatch by The Associated Press from London, dated Oct. 15, 1915, says:

In a note to the British Government received today Greece announces her definite decision not to intervene in the war on behalf of Serbia at present.

In the communication, which is of great length, Premier Zaimis of Greece presents his interpretation of the Greco-Serbian treaty. He concludes with the statement that the present Greek Government is of the opinion that the treaty with Serbia does not call for intervention by Greece in the present circumstances.

The Balkan Official Press

Comments on the Negotiations Between the Balkan Governments and the Two Opposing Groups of European Powers

The diplomatic negotiations between the Balkan States and both the Quadruple Entente and the central powers—negotiations which have reached their climax in the present crisis—are clearly reflected in authoritative comment and official interviews appearing in the press of the Balkan capitals, as shown in the subjoined translations from Bulgarian, Rumanian, Serbian, and Turkish newspapers.

Narodni Prava, a Bulgarian official organ, states:

THE Bulgarian Government, unwilling to waste the forces of the nation, continues to observe its neutrality, but it bears in mind that the disagreement after the war of 1912 has not yet been settled, and that the Bulgarian Nation shall no longer

tolerate the violation of the principle of nationalities in the Balkans, and the yoke which lies upon 1,000,000 Bulgarians. In spite of this fact, the States which have to settle accounts with the legitimate claims of the Bulgarians continue to manifest unusual obstinacy, and are thus consciously preparing for a new conflict between the Balkan nations.

It seems as though the sparks, which come to us from the European fire, cannot be extinguished in the Balkans, especially since July 28, 1913, when a great quantity of explosive materials was accumulated in the peninsula. Each day brings with it greater chances of war and lesser hopes of peace. Events are unfolding themselves, due to inflexible laws and do not depend upon us.

Thanks to one year of beneficial neutrality, Bulgaria possesses today fresh forces and a reserve of national riches to meet approaching events. The spirit of the people is firm in the belief of the triumph of the Bulgarian cause.

The Bulgarian Government is convinced that the moment it has fulfilled its duty, which is the conservation of the energies of the country, the nation will then perform its duty to itself, to its future, to the ideal left it as heritage by the pioneers of our renaissance, and to our independence — its duty to realize a Greater Bulgaria for all Bulgarians.

Bulgaria is ready to face the future. She is not seeking adventures, but wants to take possession of what by right is hers.

L'Echo de Bulgarie, the Bulgarian official organ, published in French, has the following to say:

The appeal which the friends of the Balkan nations have made will have the same reception. At Athens and Nish the Governments will repeat for the hundredth time what has been proclaimed incessantly for the last two years: No concessions whatsoever are possible. The most ardent patriots will

even say, not only that Macedonia must not be restored to her legitimate heirs, but even that the existence of Bulgaria near Serbia is a danger, or that the King of Greece's way toward Constantinople leads through Sofia.

There were, chiefly in Russia, sincere people who said to the Bulgarians in 1913: "Give your brothers what they claim in Macedonia, as long as they themselves will give it back to you when they take Bosnia and Herzegovina." And today the Serbs declare that they would rather give Belgrade to Austria than transfer Monastir to Bulgaria.

And the Sofia organ of the Government, Kambana, recalling Stephen Stambuloff's words uttered in 1888 at Orhania, points out the great danger to Bulgaria if Russia wins the strait:

If we consent to accept the yoke [said Stephen Stambuloff] nobody will be able to relieve us of it. If, on the contrary, we refuse to accept a foreign yoke, nobody will be able to impose it by force. Everything depends upon us, upon our Government and the nation.

Since the rule of Peter the Great, Russia has been aiming at the realization of her dream of conquering Constantinople. But whoever will possess Constantinople will be the master of the Balkans, and vice versa, he who is the master of the Balkans will have a say at Constantinople. Let us suppose that a son of the Czar will become Prince of Bulgaria and that Russia will rule at Constantinople. In such a case the Czar will be compelled to subjugate Bulgaria, even if it meant passing over the corpse of his own son.

Serbian Views of the Bulgarian Situation

PREMIER PASHITCH'S STATEMENT.

The Serbian Premier Pashitch made the following official statement in the Nish Parliament:

THE Quadruple Entente wants the assistance of Bulgaria. But Bulgaria will not give her support until she is assured that Macedonia will be hers.

The fact that Greece has refused to accept the proposals of the Quadruple Entente does not affect the decision of granting Cavalla to Bulgaria. It is to be regretted that Greece has not followed the advice of accepting the proposals.

The Quadruple Entente is firm in its decision to satisfy the demands of Bul-

garia. Any answer which would prevent the realization of harmony with Bulgaria will be considered by the Quadruple Entente as an act of distrust.

SERBIAN PRESS COMMENT.

The organ of the Government, Odjek, published at Nish, states:

The representatives of the Quadruple Entente have appealed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to solicit the Serbian answer to the Bulgarian demands. There is, of course, only one answer. We must satisfy the Bulgarian claims. There is a perfect understanding between the Government and the Crown in this matter.

Strja, however, makes a bitter attack on Bulgaria:

An understanding with Bulgaria is a chimera. Turn over the pages of our history, remember the date of June 16, 1913, and then begin to negotiate with her. The Bulgarians lack morality and spirit, and cannot be compared with the Serbs, who are faithful and loyal friends. For proofs, compare their history with ours. Their whole history is full of crimes and perfidy, our history is a ray of sunshine in the darkness. Our history is full of heroism, of grandeur, and faithful friendship. Why does the Quadruple Entente seek the friendship of such a State?

Rumanian Comment on the Balkan Question

The Bucharest pro-German Seara protests against Rumanian concessions to Bulgaria:

THE Russians, supported by our French friends and our Italian brothers, together with the English, insist that Rumania cede to Bulgaria the Quadrilateral, which was taken after the second Balkan war.

For this sacrifice on the one hand the Quadruple Entente demands from us sacrifices in other directions. So that on the one hand we must start out to rescue the Russians from their inevitable doom, a thing which not only implies immense sacrifice of blood and money, but risks the preponderant situation which we gained under the glorious rule of King Carol I., and even our national existence. On the other hand, the Entente tries to make us give up a territory which is necessary to our strategic position.

Adevarul, an influential independent Rumanian organ, pro-Allies, considers the situation:

The news from Sofia makes us wonder what will become of us if Austria and Germany succeed in their plan to win Bulgaria over to their side. Should Bulgaria, instead of fighting against Turkey and with the Quadruple Entente, join hands with dying Turkey, Germany will try to settle matters with us, too. She can demand that we declare in twenty-

four hours which course we intend to take. Well-informed people say that she may even ask us to carry out the treaty of alliance, signed in 1913. It is possible also that she will only compel us to let ammunition pass to Turkey, and that will be worse, from a moral point of view. What will we do in case of such provocation?

We should then mobilize immediately on two fronts. But instead of taking the offensive against Bulgaria and the Teutonic allies, we would simply take the defensive. And then we will see how events will unfold themselves. Our immediate entrance into action, however, would surely hasten these events. In fact, it would attract a part of the German forces toward our fronts, would make possible the Russian offensive and perhaps the Serbian also. Our honor would be saved and our national aspirations realized.

The hypothesis that, not having anything better to do, we will have to go with Austria and Germany, is not impossible. The King and the Government may even desire it. This would mean, however, to commit suicide.

The official French organ of the Government, L'Indépendance Roumaine, characterizes the activity of both groups of powers in the Balkans:

The rôle of the Quadruple Entente is

to pacify the interests of the Balkan powers and make them accept sacrifices and compensations. The diplomacy of the central powers is simpler. It consists in mixing up the cards and in provoking discords.

Ignoring the fight between the foreign diplomats, they—the statesmen of the Balkans—will know, we are sure, how to decide in conformity with their essential interests, making even necessary sacrifices.

Turkey's Promptings in the Balkans

The Turkish Lloyd urges Rumania to join the central powers:

RUMANIA is hesitating and is glancing around to see on which side the bids are smaller and the chances of gain greater. She is right, of course, but there is a limit to this policy of hesitation. And this limit is reached when the vital interests of the greater powers are concerned. The press of the central powers did not follow the instance of the press of the Entente. She did not make promises which it will be impossible to keep, she did not even use blandishments, nor menaces. Events have an eloquence altogether different from the best articles published in the newspapers and the defeat of Russia forces Rumania to prompt and energetic decision. Nobody can compel a State to accept offers made to it, but in Rumania we must consider that events can very easily take a turn which would make the central powers less disposed to negotiate and more eager to act.

The hour of hesitations is past and a hypocritical policy becomes more and more dangerous. Rumania has now the chance to gather the fruits of her former friendly relations with the central powers, who for a long time have given her proofs of sincere friendship. Rumania has the chance to gather the fruits of this friendship, if she will have confidence in them and in herself. The great danger lies in indecision, in the standing between two roads and waiting for sunset before starting.

Tanin also sees the realization of Bulgarian and Rumanian national aspirations in their joining the Austro-Germans:

Logic and circumstances oblige the Balkan States, especially Bulgaria and

Rumania, to change their policy of waiting into one of immediate action. If those two young nations are convinced that they have found the proper moment for the realization of their national aspirations, they must hurry. The Russians have endured successive defeats. National aspirations cannot be satisfied with vague promises. For their complete realization one must do positive work.

The victorious situation of the Teutons might be augmented by the entrance into the war of one million bayonets—and the world's peace will then be assured.

Even if one were not to take into consideration the different interests which bind the Rumanians and the Bulgarians to the central powers, not to mention the enormous profit which would result from the Russian defeat, it remains a well-known fact that the events which are now unrolling themselves must interest the neutrals to a high degree.

Even the enemies of the Teutons agree that they are victorious. To join the defeated and fight against the victors, especially when powerful Germany is at their head, would be an act of insanity. The Balkan States thus have no other way but to join the Teutons.

The official Tanin, on another occasion, criticises the attitude of the Bulgarian Russophile press:

There are many signs that our neighbor is about to decide. The nature of the offers of the Quadruple Entente, as well as the currents of opinion that are manifest at Sofia, are interesting symptoms. The Russophile newspapers are engaged in an active campaign against the Teutons and especially against us.

Balkanska Tribuna and Preporoz are filling their columns with false rumors

concerning Turkey. They give a very black appearance to our military and economic situation. It is obvious that they want to influence public opinion, and we believe that by this attitude they are rendering a great service to their country. The first duty of a Bulgarian newspaper is not to be Russophile nor Turkophile, but first of all upholders of truth and of national interests. For instance, to say that the situation of the Turks is precarious and to describe it in such sad terms, at a time when even the Anglo-French confess that they are facing immense difficulties in attacking the Dardanelles, is to create a wrong impression of Turkey in Bulgaria. When those letters appeared in Bulgaria the Turkish troops forced back almost 100,000 men whom England had brought from the four corners. We have been

in war, and although we have had to endure continuous warfare in the last few years we are by no means beaten. We take the liberty which a victorious war of more than ten months confers upon us, and we may say that Turkey will not be defeated in the future. We grant enormous sacrifices and we know that we are suffering on account of deficiency, but at a time when even the neutrals have to accustom themselves to privations the Turks are determined—to create the basis of an empire truly independent, to do their duty to the end. We must complain of these newspapers which want to discredit us in the eyes of our neighbors.

If the Russophile newspapers of Sofia would have told the truth about us they would have rendered their country a lasting service.

Machines for Annihilating Distance

The following report appeared in The London Daily Telegraph on Sept. 13, 1915:

The war has robbed us of an address before the British Association dealing with the fascinating subject of mechanical locomotion, for that would have been his choice, Dr. H. S. Hele-Shaw told his engineering audience at Manchester last week, when delivering his Presidential address before Section G, had the war not intervened. As the President of the Engineering Section well reminded us, the subject would have afforded ample scope, as might be realized by considering what would have been the effect produced if that distinguished engineer, Sir William Fairbairn, who presided over a meeting of the British Association in Manchester just fifty years ago, had told his audience that within a comparatively short space of time our roads would be to a large extent occupied with self-propelled traffic; that electricity, then nothing but a toy, would play a most important part in our means of locomotion, not merely for driving, but for lighting; that it would be used for searching out and communicating with vessels far away from the land and from each other; that ships many times the size of the largest ones then in ordinary use would employ steam as Herodotus employed it 2,000 years ago, and obtain by this means a speed more than twice that of any existing ships; and that many ocean ships would be propelled against wind and tide by engines using no steam at all. If the President had further proceeded to predict that ships would travel under water for long distances as easily as on the surface, and that, above all, a safe pathway would be found in the air by means of machines flying at speeds far exceeding those of the swiftest birds, Dr. Hele-Shaw suspected that he would have lost a good deal of his reputation as a man of judgment and common sense.

The Allies' Great Offensive

Effort to Force the Western Front

British, French, and German Official Versions of the Drive, with Stirring Personal Accounts

KING GEORGE'S MESSAGE.

To Field Marshal Sir John French,
Commander in Chief, British Ex-
peditionary Force:

Sept. 30, 1915.

I heartily congratulate you and all
ranks of my army under your command
upon the success which has attended
their gallant efforts since the commence-
ment of the combined attack.

I recognize that this strenuous and
determined fighting is but the prelude
to greater deeds and further victories.

I trust the sick and wounded are doing
well.

GEORGE, R. I.

The following reply was sent:

To his Majesty the King, Buckingham
Palace, Oct. 1, 1915:

Your Majesty's forces in France are
deeply grateful for your Majesty's most
gracious message.

There is no sacrifice the troops are
not prepared to make to uphold the
honor and traditions of your Majesty's army
and to secure final and complete
victory.

J. D. P. FRENCH, Field Marshal.

EARL KITCHENER'S MESSAGE.

*The Field Marshal Commanding in
Chief has received the following mes-
sage from Field Marshal the Right Hon.
H. H. Earl Kitchener of Khartoum, Sec-
retary of State for War:*

Sept. 27, 1915.

To Sir John French, General Headquar-
ters:

My warmest congratulations to you
and all serving under you on the sub-
stantial success you have achieved, and
my best wishes for the progress of your
important operation. KITCHENER.

FIELD MARSHAL'S REPORT.

THE ORDER OF THE DAY.

General Headquarters, France, Oct. 3.

The following Special Order of the Day
has been issued by Field Marshal Sir
John French:

We have now reached a definite stage
in the great battle which commenced on
the 25th inst.

Our allies in the south have pierced
the enemy's last line of intrenchments
and effected large captures of prisoners
and guns.

The Tenth French Army, on our imme-
diate right, has been heavily opposed, but
has brilliantly succeeded in securing the
important positions known as the Vimy
Ridge.

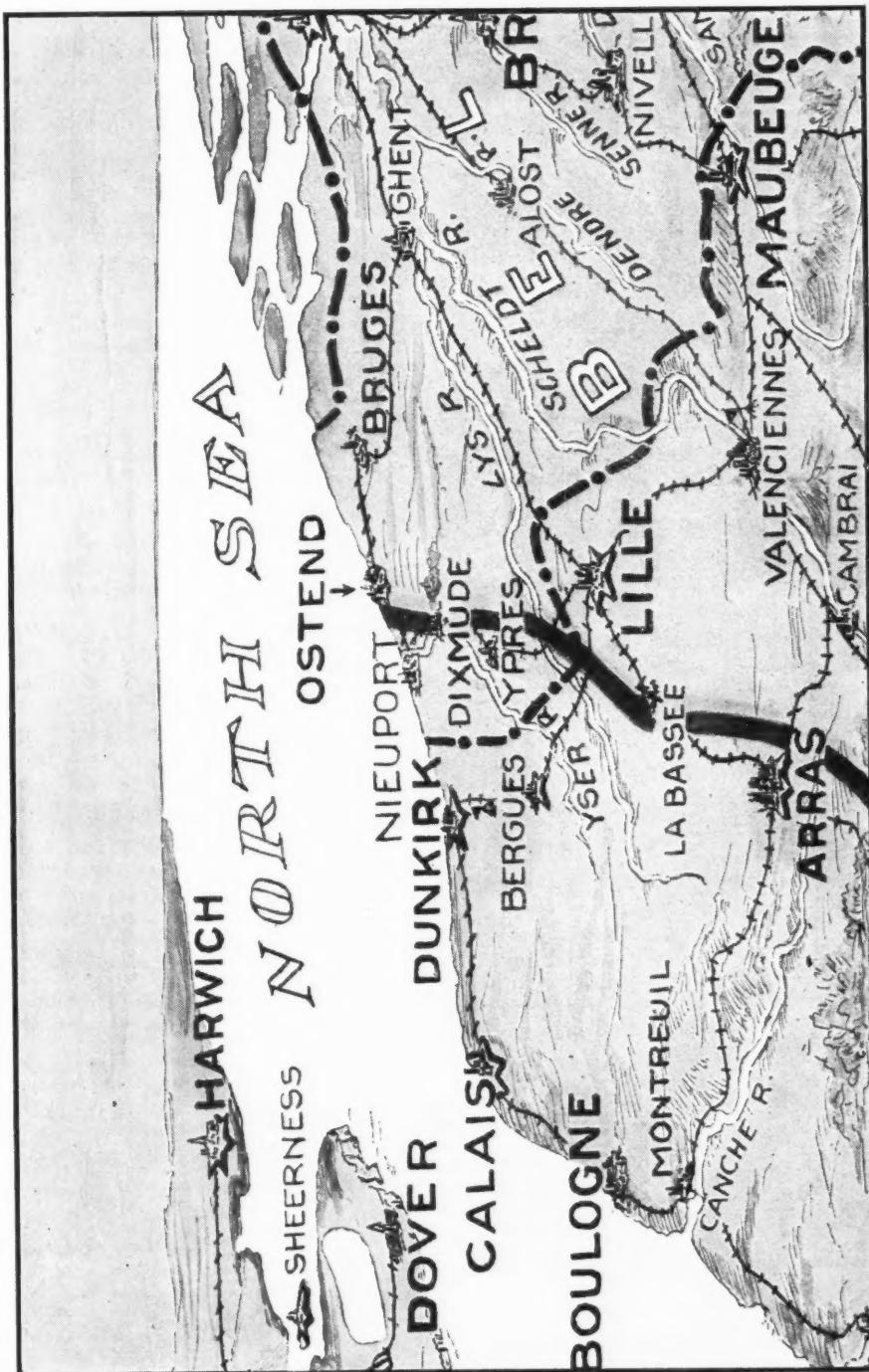
The operations of the British forces
have been most successful, and have had
great and important results.

On the morning of the 25th inst. the
First and Fourth Corps attacked and
carried the enemy's first and most pow-
erful line of intrenchments, extending
from our extreme right flank at Grenay
to a point north of the Hohenzollern Re-
doubt—a distance of 6,500 yards.

This position was exceptionally strong,
consisting of a double line, which includ-
ed some large redoubts and a network
of trenches and bombproof shelters.
Dugouts were constructed at short in-
tervals all along the line, some of them
being large caves thirty feet below the
ground.

The Eleventh Corps, in general reserve,
and the Third Cavalry Division were
subsequently thrown into the fight, and
finally the Twenty-eighth Division.

After the vicissitudes attendant upon
every great fight the enemy's second line



Line Held by the British Troops on Oct. 15, 1915.

posts were taken, the commanding position known as Hill 70 in advance of Loos was finally captured, and a strong line was established and consolidated in close proximity to the German third and last line.

The main operations south of La Bassée Canal were much facilitated and assisted by the subsidiary attacks delivered by the Third and Indian Corps and the troops of the Second Army.

Great help was also rendered by the operations of the Fifth Corps east of Ypres, during which some important captures were made.

We are also much indebted to Vice Admiral Bacon and our naval comrades for the valuable co-operation of the fleet.

Our captures have amounted to over 3,000 prisoners and some 25 guns, besides many machine guns and a quantity of war material.

The enemy has suffered heavy losses, particularly in the many counterattacks by which he has vainly endeavored to wrest back the captured positions, but which have all been gallantly repulsed by our troops.

I desire to express to the army under my command my deep appreciation of the splendid work they have accomplished and my heartfelt thanks for the brilliant leadership displayed by General Sir Douglas Haig and the corps and divisional commanders who acted under his orders in the main attack.

In the same spirit of admiration and gratitude I wish particularly to comment upon the magnificent spirit, indomitable courage, and dogged tenacity displayed by the troops. Old army, new army, and territorials have vied with one another in the heroic conduct displayed throughout the battle by officers, non-commissioned officers, and men.

I feel the utmost confidence and assurance that the same glorious spirit which has been so marked a feature throughout the first phase of this great battle will continue until our efforts are crowned by final and complete victory.

J. D. P. FRENCH,
Field Marshal Commanding in Chief,
British Army in the Field.

Sept. 30, 1915.

GENERAL JOFFRE'S ORDER.

Here is the text of General Joffre's order to the French Army announcing a general offensive:

Soldiers of the Republic: The general offensive has begun. The artillery opens; the infantry will follow; then will come the cavalry. The offensive will be kept up day and night. Remember the Marne!

Officers: All is ready in arms and ammunition. The general offensive has been decided upon. Inform your men, for he who dies for his country has the right to know where we lead him.

German Version of the Allies' Offensive

The German wireless press news sent out from Berlin on Oct. 4, 1915, contains the following:

GERMAN OFFICIAL STATEMENT.

"Main Headquarters report:

"The following Army Order of the French General Joffre has been known to the German Chief Army Administration for some time:

"Main Headquarters of the Western Army General Staff 3. Bureau No. 8, 56, 565, 15-9-1915. Secret.

"To the General in Command.

"The spirit of the troops and their

those of our countrymen who have been willingness to sacrifice themselves represent the highest conditions of the attack. The better he understands the importance of the movements of the attack wherein he participates, the braver the French soldier fights, and the more trust he puts in the measures taken by his leaders. It is therefore necessary that the officers of all grades from today onward explain the favorable conditions to their subordinates under which the next attack of the French fighting force will be conducted.

"The following points must be known to all: 1. In order to drive the Germans out of France it is necessary that we shall commence the attack in the French theatre of the war. Not only will we liberate

suppressed for the last twelve months, but we will also snatch away from the enemy the valuable possession of the occupied territory.

" " A number of batteries of heavy calibre have been got together and prepared with a view to an early attack. The number of shells required for each gun at our disposal exceeds the greatest supply which have been previously calculated.

" " 2. The present moment is especially favorable for a general attack, first, because the landing of Kitchener's army in France has been completed, and, secondly, because during the last month the Germans have withdrawn from our front forces for use on the Russian front. The Germans have only few reserves behind their entrenched positions on the Dunes.

" " 3. The attack is to be a general one. It will consist of a number of great attacks made simultaneously, and will be made over a large front. The English troops will take part with large forces. The Belgian troops will also take part in the attacking operations.

" " As soon as the enemy has been shaken the troops then in front of the weakened portions of the front will then attack. In order to complete the rout and cause the enemy to flee in disorder, it will be a question for the attacking troops not only of taking the first line of trenches, but of continuing the advance right through the second and third line into the open territory. The whole of our cavalry will join in the attack, so as to take full advantage of the long distance from the infantry. The simultaneousness of the attack and its weight and extent will hinder the enemy from collecting (massing) his infantry and artillery reserves at any point as he was able to do at Arras. This condition will guarantee success. The notification of this order to the troops will not fail to raise their courage to the height of the sacrifice which is required of them, and it is therefore absolutely necessary that these instructions shall be carried out with cleverness and confidence. (Signed) J. JOFFRE."

" A French regimental commander issues the following supplementary order:

" " This command brings to the notice of battalion commander and company leaders the following, and begs them while on duty in the trenches and in camp to take advantage of every opportunity to give their men to understand that the efforts required of them may lead to such a success as will bring the war within a very short time to an end with one blow.

" " In the attack every one must use their forces, energy, and bravery which are necessary to achieve such a great result. We must break through the Ger-

man lines and advance. In spite of everything, (remainder cannot be understood.)

" This command of General Joffre's has been amplified by means of the following order of the commander of the English Guard Division which fell into German hands on Sept. 25:

" " Division Command of the Guards Division.—On the eve of the greatest battle of all times the commander of the Guard Division wishes his troops much luck. He has nothing to add to the animating words of the Commanding General as given out this morning, but wishes his men to keep two things well before their mind: first, that upon the result of this battle the fate of the coming generation of Englishmen depends. Second, that the greatest things are expected of the Guard Division. From his thirty years' acquaintance of the Guard he knows that he need say no more.

(Signed) " " LORD CAVAN."

" From the nature of these orders other things are apparent. The object of the attack was to drive the Germans out of France. The result achieved is that the Germans on a front of about 840 kilometers, at one place 23 kilometers, and at another 12 kilometers wide, (and at this latter not by any soldierly qualities of the English attack, but by a successful surprise by gas attack,) have been pressed back from the first line of their system of defense into their second line, which is not their last.

" After a careful computation the French losses in killed and wounded and prisoners is at least 130,000, those of the English 60,000, and the German losses are not one-fifth of this number.

" Whether the enemy has still the idea of attaining his object need not be considered. Anyway, such a success fought with a superiority of 6 or 7 to 1 and prepared for after many months of work on war material in the factories of half the world, including those of America, cannot be styled a 'brilliant victory.' Still less can it be said that the attack has compelled us to do anything which was not in our plans, and especially to direct our advance against the Russian army toward him. Apart from the fact that a certain division which was to have been transported away from the western front when the offensive started was held back, and that another division was sent

away in its stead to the place where the former should have gone, the attack did not cause the German chief army administration to use a single soldier anywhere where they had not previously intended to be used, arrangements having long before been settled. Moreover, the attack has not been carried out without respite day and night; neither has our defense been pushed back at any point beyond our second line. Neither has the enemy hindered us from removing our reserve troops as safely and effectively as we were able to do during the May offensive to the north of Arras."

GERMAN OFFICER'S LETTER.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Paris, dated Oct. 5, 1915, this letter, dated Sept. 26, was found on the body of a German officer who was killed in Champagne:

"One o'clock in the morning. At 7 it will have been seventy-two hours since, without interruption, we have been frightfully bombarded—seventy-two hours of endless, deafening uproar, which even the steadiest nerves can hardly endure!

"I was ordered into the trenches as an observer at 7 A. M. Naturally, telephone lines were broken. I reached the position of the reserves without much trouble, their trenches being destroyed only here and there; but there the difficulties began.

"Mines and bombs were exploding at brief intervals, interspersed with bullets from machine guns. From that point on the trenches were so damaged that we were obliged to crawl on all fours.

"I left my telephone operator and went ahead, amid uninterrupted cracklings, the bursting of grenades, the explosion of shells, the whistling of bullets, the howling of shell fragments, and fogs of smoke. By holding my breath behind my respirator I got to a point where a trench had been repaired thirty-five times. The communication trench was completely leveled. Creeping closer and closer to the ground, I arrived at the second trench, ten yards behind the first. Of the latter nothing remains. The second trench is just deep enough to kneel in.

"Profiting from a period of relative calm, I cast a glance ahead. Our barbed-wire fences are destroyed. I signal our batteries, which resume a rapid fire. Then I creep back to get my telephone operator. It takes me four hours to cover ground which ordinarily could have been covered in twenty-five minutes.

"This is becoming frightful. An explosion throws me against a wall of a trench. A Lieutenant tells me a shell struck in his shelter, also. I rush out and see that all the bombproofs on the slope are burning. A shell striking an ammunition magazine causes a formidable explosion. The French keep on firing into the fire. How I hate them!

"How I admire the French artillery! They are the master gunners. We really cannot imitate them, I regret to say. Continuing to fire into the fire, the enemy provokes a more violent explosion than the preceding ones.

"God knows what they have blown up now! From this moment I have lost all sensation of fear."

French Version of the Allies' Offensive

The following account of the Champagne fighting was issued by the official agency in Paris on Oct. 3, 1915:

ON the evening of Sept. 25 the line we held in Champagne was so irregular in contour that it seemed almost paradoxical. On the map certain of our men were facing east and others west. During the 26th and

27th we succeeded north of Souain and Perthes in occupying a front facing north and in contact with the German second line along a stretch of seven and a half miles. The ground thus conquered represented an area of some fifteen and a half square miles, and was traversed by lines of trenches graduated to a great depth. The borders of the woods were

organized for defense, and innumerable subterranean passages, trenches, and parallels facilitated a resistance foot by foot.

We overcame all these obstacles, imposing our ascendancy on the enemy, and progressing from trench to trench, and on our way seizing batteries, munition depots, and material. Our soldiers were out to conquer, and the joy of knowing that a powerful German fortress was crumbling in the face of their efforts spurred them forward with greater dash. Our Generals and Colonels took up their posts of command in the shelter of the German officers' huts, and the casemates on which there still hung notices "Stab Bataillons," "Kompagnie *führer*." The soldiers gayly made a rapid inventory of the dwellings and the rustic canteens installed in the woods.

Our artillery took up positions in the open country, as in the days of war of movement. Our advance progressed with success, for continuing which great honor is due to our troops, in particular the Franc-Comtois and Africains, who had assumed the task of taking a string of wooded hills stretching between Auberive and Souain to the north Roman road. The Epine de Vedegrange and Hill 150 are the only points which mark this district on the map 1-80,000. It was there that the Germans resisted with much determination in one of their systems of trenches. Our troops advanced by successive bounds, digging themselves in after each rush, so as to indicate that they had taken possession of the terrain. Thus they succeeded in reaching the enemy's second position at this point, which we have baptized the "parallel of the Epine de Vedegrange." This trench extends eastward unbroken toward Hill 193. Our military vocabulary furnishes many names for it—"Parallel of the wood of Chevron," "Trench of Lubeck." Up to the Navarin farm, further east, it is named "Trench of Kultur," "Trench of Satyrs," and "Trench of Pirates." On the evening of the 25th we had not attained the second line to the east of Navarin farm. The Germans were holding out in the pine woods which terrace the

eastern section of the Souain basin, (Bois de Spandau and Bois de Camerun.)

The next day our troops, who had gone forward west to a point where the Souain-Tahure road traverses the woods, succeeded in joining hands with those installed on Hill 193. Thus the last defenders of the works in the woods were surrounded. Here we made nearly 2,000 prisoners.

Meanwhile our African troops were gaining ground toward the north, clearing the woods and taking possession of the "Camp of Sadowa," which contained large quantities of material, and the existence of which had already been revealed by our airmen. Further east we pushed forward our line, installing ourselves on the summit of Hill 201, facing the Butte of Tahure, on which the enemy dug a second line, named "Trench of the Vistula." An attack put us in possession of a little fort at the extremity of the latter.

Along the remainder of the front the pressure was kept up by violent bombardments, by grenade throwing, and by swift attacks. On the "Main de Massiges" ground was thus gained by a sustained action of the colonial infantry. Alternating the fire of the heavy artillery and the field guns with assaults by grenadiers, we succeeded greatly in increasing our gain of Sept. 25 along the northern portion of the promontory.

Germans surrendered in groups, even though not surrounded, so tired were they of the fight, and so depressed by hunger and convinced of our determination to continue our effort to the end.

A German trench stood in the way of our advance. Our artillery concentrated its fire upon it. Toward the end of the afternoon of the 26th, when the observation officer suddenly gave the order to cease fire, he saw the Germans stand up on the crest and put up their hands. "Seventy-fives! Send a screen of fire behind," ordered the General commanding the division, and immediately the Germans were to be seen running toward our lines, while our colonial infantry went off and installed themselves in the trenches. There they stuck up the pen-

nants with which they had directed our artillery fire and which on the crest torn

by shells unfurled themselves like glorious standards.

"Failure of the Allies"

A Berlin dispatch by wireless to Sayville, N. Y., dated Oct. 2, 1915, said:

THE German General Staff recently invited a number of newspaper men from neutral countries—the United States, South America, Holland, and Rumania—to inspect the fighting line in the west during time of battle," says the Overseas News Agency. "They first went to Champagne, near Massiges, where they were permitted to question German soldiers returning from the battlefield and captured French soldiers, and also to view field and trenches when under French fire.

"They are thus enabled to verify the reports from the German Headquarters concerning this greatest and most fearful battle fought on the western front since the beginning of the war. They are, accordingly, in a position to state that exaggerated statements are made in the reports from French Headquarters, and to confirm the facts that the Germans were outnumbered several times by the French; that the French suffered terrific and unheard-of losses, in spite of several days of artillery preparation; that the French attacks failed altogether, as none of them attained the expected result; and that the encircling movement undertaken by General Joffre is without tangible result.

"The neutral newspaper men left Champagne for the northern part of the line in continuation of their inspection tour."

A Berlin dispatch of Oct. 2, by wireless to Tuckerton, N. J., reported:

The following was among the items given out today by the Overseas News Agency:

"Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, in an army order telling of French attacks repulsed by two other German armies, declared to his troops that 'the world presently shall see the pompously advertised grand offensive broken by the iron will of our people in arms.'

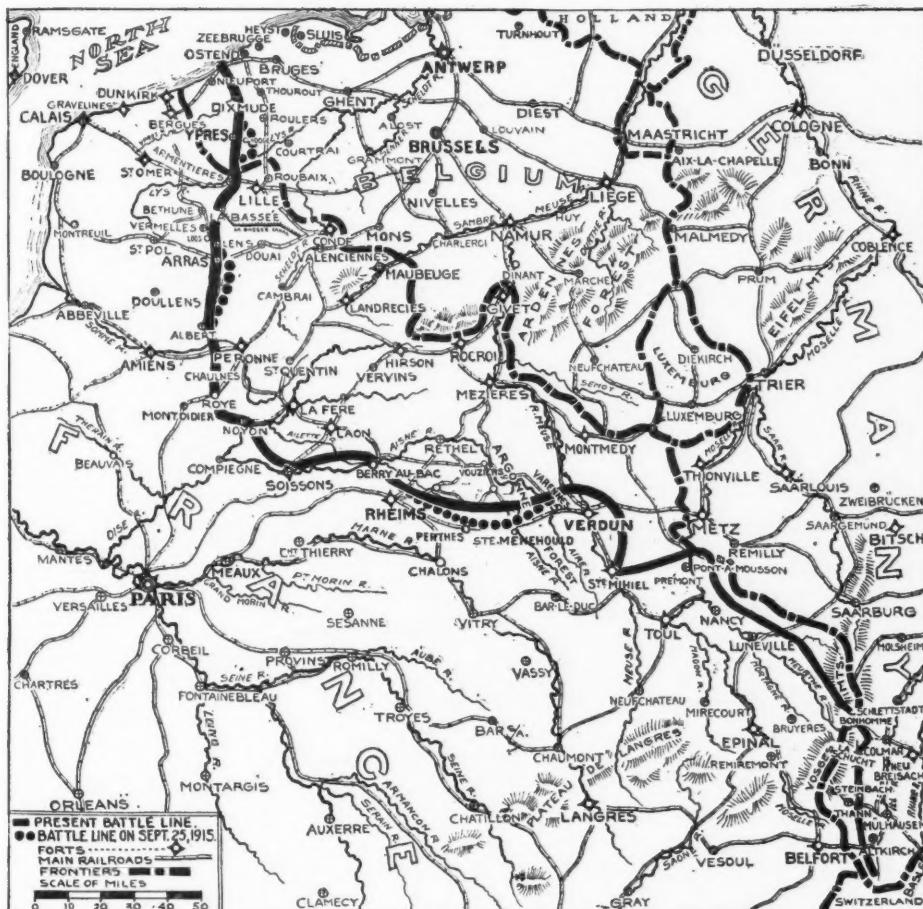
"The Berliner Tageblatt publishes an interview with Crown Prince Rupprecht in which he dwells on the bravery and steadfastness of his troops and expresses his confidence in German victory as a result of the battles being waged. He pointed out that the nature of the ground made it possible for the assailants of the German lines to win local successes, but that they were already losing piece by piece the territory won. Referring to the attack of the Allies, he said: 'They are welcome to try it again if they like.'

The London Times reported on Oct. 4, 1915, that the latest German newspapers continued to contrast the "failure," except in the first day's surprise attack, of the Franco-British offensive with the important "success" of the German counterattacks. The Frankfurter Zeitung explains:

Every step won on the hillocks to the north of Loos is a great gain for the German defense—not on account of the occupation of the ground itself, but because those positions extend to the town of Lens and conditions of space are somewhat narrow. In Champagne, too, the fight is developing favorably for us. Here, too, the enemy was unable to enlarge the gap. The little gain near Souain can hardly be counted, and, on the other hand, near Massiges the French did not get possession of the commanding heights which lie to the north of the place and which the enemy appears to be assaulting from the west or southwest. Here, too, the defense has hitherto brilliantly performed its task.

In a further article, headed "We Are Ready," the Frankfurter Zeitung remarks:

The violent struggle on the whole west front continues. French and English storming columns in unbroken succession roll up against the iron wall constituted by our heroic troops. As all hostile attacks have hitherto been repulsed with



Western Battle Front, Recording Net Changes of Line After the Onset of Sept. 25, 1915, in the Allies' Great Offensive.

gigantic losses, particularly for the English, the whole result of the enemy's attack, lasting for days, is merely a denting in of our front in two places. After the little partial successes of the first surprise attack, our adversaries have got no further. By their unsurpassable steadfastness and tenacity, our war-tried troops have rendered any further progress impossible. But the conflicts are not yet at an end. The decision is still to come.

The German people realize the frightful seriousness of the bloody struggle now being waged in the west. By every means in their power our adversaries are endeavoring, and will continue to en-

deavor, to break through the German front. That they are not disposed so soon again to abandon the object set before them is clearly evident from a speech of the English Prime Minister Asquith.

The French and English in the west are pressing for the decision. We are prepared for it, and can look forward with confidence to the continuation of the fight. It is not the German way to break out into light-hearted jubilation because we have hitherto succeeded in wrecking all these furious attempts to break through. On the contrary, the harder the fight the more German strength braces itself. Against this invincible German power of resistance all

the bombastically announced offensives have hitherto collapsed. The same thing will happen this time.

The article concludes by treating with derision the idea that the natural drawing of reserves to the threatened places on the front will thereby dangerously weaken other places.

Germany is not yet exhausted, as our enemies would like to believe. We have at our disposal sufficient free reserves who can be thrown in at any time and any place without thereby weakening our front in any other place, whether in east or west. We shall force our adversaries to recognize this fact.

The German Counteroffensive

A REDOUBT LOST.

Following is the text of Sir John French's report, published on Oct. 4, 1915:

YESTERDAY afternoon the enemy commenced a heavy bombardment and delivered repeated attacks over the open against our trenches between the quarries and the Sermedes-Hulluch road. These attacks, which were pressed with determination, were all repulsed with severe loss to the enemy, and failed to reach our trenches.

Further to the northwest the enemy succeeded in recapturing the greater portion of the Hohenzollern Redoubt.

On the remainder of our front the situation is unchanged.

CROSSROADS RETAKEN BY GERMANS.

The French Communiqué of Oct. 4 reads as follows:

In Artois the struggle from trench to trench continued during the entire day. On the crests to the south of Givenchy the enemy was able to regain a footing at the crossing of five roads, but was repulsed everywhere else, notwithstanding the violence of his repeated counter-attacks.

The artillery and trench gun action was especially intense to the south of the Somme, in the sector of Lizons and Chaulnes, as well as to the north of the Aisne, in the valley of the Miette, and on the Aisne-Marne Canal, in the environs of Spaigneul.

An enemy aeroplane was brought to earth within our lines. The two officers manning it were made prisoners.

In Champagne the enemy again shelled our positions and rear guards with shells containing suffocating mixtures. Our artillery replied energetically.

On the western outskirts of the Argonne forest our heavy batteries took under their fire a hostile column marching from Baulny on Apremont, (north of Varennes.)

In the Vosges we repelled, after a spirited engagement, an attack by the enemy against our posts to the east of Celles-sur-Plaine. A bombardment, very violent on both sides, has occurred at Hartmannsweilerkopf.

This is the official German report issued in Berlin on Oct. 4:

Five monitors appeared early yesterday morning before Zeebrugge and directed a fruitless fire against the coast. Three Belgian inhabitants fell victims.

Our attacking operations against the British front north of Loos, whence a fruitless sortie was undertaken by the enemy during the night against our position west of Haisnes, made further progress.

South of Souchez Brook the French succeeded in obtaining a firm foothold in a small section of a trench on the hill northwest of Givenchy. South of this hill French attacks were repulsed. The forty-meter section of the trench northeast of Neuville [the capture of which by the French was announced in yesterday's German report] was recaptured by our troops.

Yesterday afternoon the French began an attack in the Champagne region, northwest of Ville-sur-Tourbe and northwest of Massiges, which was with-



Area of Operations in the West, Showing Battle Line on Oct. 15, 1915, Between Rheims and Verdun.

out result. Their accumulation of troops was subjected to our concentrated fire. A strong night attack against our positions northwest of Ville-sur-Tourbe broke down under our fire with heavy losses.

The railway station at Châlons, the chief meeting place of the rear guard of the French attacking troops in Champagne, was bombarded last night by one of our airships, with visible results.

ALLIED GAINS.

Field Marshal Sir John French on Oct. 9 broke silence for the first time since Oct. 4 to announce, through the British Press Bureau, considerable gains in the Loos sector, where, to the northeast of that village, near Hill 70, his forces had penetrated the German lines to points varying from 500 to 1,000 yards in advance of the positions previously taken. The report follows:

Since my communication of Oct. 4 the enemy has constantly shelled our new trenches south of La Bassée Canal and has made repeated bombing attacks on the southern portion of the Hohenzollern Redoubt, which is held by us. These attacks were all repulsed.

In spite of the enemy's artillery fire, we have pushed our trenches steadily forward northeast of Loos, between Hill 70 and Hulluch, and gained ground varying from 500 to 1,000 yards in depth.

Yesterday afternoon the enemy heavily bombarded the whole area we had recently won from him, and followed this by an attack in successive waves of infantry on the whole front from south of Loos to the Hohenzollern Redoubt. This attack was repulsed everywhere, with heavy loss to the enemy. We gained possession by a counterattack of a German trench 500 yards west of the Cité St. Elie. Great numbers of the enemy dead are lying in front of our lines. Our losses were comparatively slight.

The text of the French communication on Oct. 9 follows:

The reports of last night set forth that the German losses, in the offensive movement undertaken yesterday against Loos and the positions to the

north and to the south of Loos actually held by our troops, were very heavy.

The assault was made by three successive and very dense formations of men, followed by detachments in column form. All these troops were cut down by the combined fire of our infantry, our machine guns, and our artillery. Only a few detachments of the Germans were successful in securing a footing in a trench recently conquered by us between Loos and the roadway from Lens to Bethune. Other local attacks, but equaling these in violence, have been repeated against our positions to the southeast of Neuville-St. Vaast, but they were completely repulsed. All the progress made by us in the last few days has been maintained.

There has been a fairly spirited cannonading, in which both sides took part, in the sector of Lihons, as well as in the region of Quennevières and Nouvron.

In the Champagne district a German counterattack delivered last night at a point to the east of the Navarin Farm was definitely checked by a curtain of artillery fire.

The only action undertaken by the enemy against the advances made by us yesterday to the southeast of Tahure consisted of a violent bombardment, coupled with the use of shells which asphyxiated and caused irritation of the eyes.

On the western boundary of the Argonne the activity of French batteries put an end to the German cannonading directed against our trenches in the sector of St. Thomas.

In Lorraine several strong reconnoitring parties of the enemy took part in an attack against our advanced posts in the Forest of Parroy. All these endeavors were completely repulsed. On the front between Rellion and Leintrey, one of the German attacking parties, after having secured a footing in one of our first line positions, was in part driven out.

There has been no notable incident on the remainder of the front.

The Belgian official communication reads:

The enemy artillery has shown slight activity. We dispersed military pioneers at divers points along the front.

The War Office in Berlin on Oct. 9 gave out the following statement:

Northeast of Vermelles a strong English attack failed with heavy losses to the enemy. During a local German attack a little progress was made southwest of the village of Loos.

In Champagne the French attacked a position east of Navarin Farm, after a few hours of artillery preparation, and in certain places succeeded in penetrating our trenches. They were driven out again by our counterattacks, leaving one officer and 100 men in our hands, after a fruitless and sanguinary battle.

In French Lorraine the French lost the much-fought-for Hill of Leintrey. One officer, seventy men, one machine gun, and four mine throwers remained in our hands.

FRENCH LOSSES.

Following is the text of the Paris official report issued on the night of Oct. 13, 1915:

The enemy renewed today with strong forces his attacks to the northeast of Souchez, against the wood "le Bois en Hache," to the east of the road from Souchez to Angres; against our positions on the approaches to the five highways on the crest of Vimy; against the small fort, previously taken by us in the Givenchy Wood, and the neighboring trenches.

Despite the extreme violence of the bombardment, which preceded these attacks, despite the desperate nature of the renewed assaults, the enemy was able to penetrate only some parts of the trenches in the Givenchy Wood which had been completely shattered by shells of heavy calibre. Everywhere else we conserved all our positions and repulsed the assault of the Germans, who suffered very heavy losses.

Artillery actions of particular intensity are reported to the south of the Somme, in the sector of Lihons. In Champagne, to the north of Souain and Massiges, in Argonne, to the north of La Harazee, and between the Meuse and the Moselle, to the north of Flirey.

In the Vosges we dispersed by our fire an enemy attack against our positions in the valley of La Lauerne.

The text of the French afternoon communication follows:

At the conclusion of the bombardment reported yesterday, the enemy last evening delivered an infantry attack against our positions to the northeast of Souchez. These attacks, like the preceding ones, were everywhere completely repulsed.

Last night saw artillery actions of great intensity, in which both sides took part, between the Somme and the Oise; in the region of Andechy, and to the east of Rheims, in the direction of Moronvilliers. Batteries of the enemy have delivered a violent cannonade in the region to the south of Tahure and to the east of Butte de Mesnil. Our artillery held this fire back effectively, and in the meantime we were making further progress from trench to trench at a point to the east of the earthwork known as "the Trapeze."

There has been fairly intense fighting with trench machines in the sector of Flirey, and more violent fighting, accompanied by artillery exchanges, in the suburbs of Reillon.

In the Vosges the enemy, after a complete check to his attack along the front from the Linge to the Shratzmannle, resumed his efforts yesterday evening. A second outburst of artillery fire along the entire front, in preparation for an infantry advance, was followed by a fresh attack which, generally speaking, resulted in failure. The Germans were able to gain a footing in our first line trenches at only one point, and this was to the south of the Linge hills. The trench they took was between sixty and eighty yards long. Our counterattacks made it possible for us to reoccupy a portion of this trench immediately.

A squadron of nineteen French aeroplanes has thrown down 140 shells on the railroad station at Bazancourt, whence movements of the enemy have been reported.

Another air squadron composed of eighteen machines has bombarded the railroad junction at Achiet-le-Grand, near Bapaume. Other machines have

bombarded the railroad tracks at a point near Warmerville.

The German official statement of Oct. 13, 1915, with regard to the fighting in Belgium and France, says:

British attacks northeast of Vermelles were easily repulsed.

East of Souchez the French again lost some portion of the trenches which they were able to keep on Oct. 11.

In Champagne a French attack yesterday afternoon failed south of Tahure. Repeated attacks on the same place early this morning with several groups of troops broke down completely.

In the Vosges the French lost a portion of their positions on the western slope of Schratzmannele.

BRITISH ATTACKS.

Renewed British attacks in force upon the German lines in the neighborhood of Loos on Oct. 13, 1915, resulted in the reported capture of several trenches, including the main trench of the Hohenzollern Redoubt, all of which gains Sir John French's troops retained. This is the text of the British official statement:

Yesterday afternoon, after a bombardment, we attacked the enemy's trenches under cover of a cloud of smoke and gas from a point about 600 yards southwest of Hulluch to the Hohenzollern redoubt. We gained about 1,000 yards of trenches just south and west of Hulluch, but were unable to maintain our position there owing to the enemy's shell fire.

Southwest of St. Elie we captured and held the enemy's trench behind the Vermelles-Hulluch road and the southwestern quarries, both inclusive. We also captured a trench on the northwest face of the forest. We captured the main trench of the Hohenzollern Redoubt, but the enemy is still in two communicating trenches between the redoubt and the quarries.

GERMAN LOSSES.

By DR. GEORGE WEGENER.

[The Cologne Gazette Dispatches.]
Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ON THE GERMAN FRONT IN CHAMPAGNE, Oct. 12, (via Cologne and

London, Oct. 14.)—Monday ended the third hardest-fought battle since the beginning of the new offensive here. The preparatory artillery fire began on Sunday evening. The thunder of the guns, among them those of the heaviest calibre, roared throughout the whole night.

Monday morning a comparatively small attack of the French began in the neighborhood of Tahure. The French forced their way into a short trench. The enemy's aeroplane attacks were driven off throughout the day by our defending aeroplanes. The artillery fire lasted the entire day, increasing between 6 and 7 o'clock to a violent cannonade on both sides. The positions behind the front were the most bombarded, as the first lines were too close together.

At 7 o'clock, after twenty-four hours' firing, a strong attack of the French north and south of Tahure ensued, which, however, was repulsed. One lost trench was immediately recaptured, with great losses for us.

Last night passed very quietly, as well as today, except for the new flying machines.

To the question put to prisoners whether hate against the Germans was still so great as at the beginning of the war we often heard the answer: "No; these two peoples should unite in peace; that would be a good thing."

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, Oct. 13.—The night passed quietly. Toward morning there was a heavy fog. Under this protection the French, about 5 o'clock, made a violent attack south of Tahure in close columns, presumably in the hope of taking us by surprise. It was repulsed. After an half hour's bombardment they made a second attack at 7:30, which lasted until 10:30 in the morning, advancing five times in several waves of assault, which were all, with the excellent support of our artillery, easily repulsed by our infantry.

That the battles in Champagne can be brought to a conclusion by attacks of this sort, which are still carried on by the use of great masses of troops, is hardly to be expected. The statements of captured prisoners confirm this view.

Zeppelin Raids on London

Official Reports of Recent Air Attacks from Germany

In the British press an authorized statement appeared on Sept. 17, 1915, to this effect:

"The following description of some of the effects of the Zeppelin raid in the London district has been drawn up by an impartial observer at the request of the Home Secretary, [Sir John Simon,] and is authorized for publication. While it is absolutely necessary, in the interests of public safety, strictly to maintain the rule that no unauthorized accounts should appear, the real character of these outrages may be the better understood by a collection of incidents, each of which has been verified on the spot, and is vouched for by the authorities as accurate. The Home Secretary takes this opportunity of stating explicitly that the total casualties resulting from these air raids are in all cases correctly stated, and are based on exhaustive inquiry by the police."

The official report appears below:

IN a letter which he addressed to a correspondent some weeks ago, the First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Balfour) set forth the reasons which prevented his Majesty's Government from disclosing the exact localities in which damage had taken place in the various Zeppelin raids. These reasons remain valid, and there is no intention to depart from the rule which secures that no information can be made available for the enemy, either in regard to the route he has taken, or the places or buildings on which he dropped his bombs. The experience of the raids of last week, combined with the German official reports on them, demonstrates that the commanders of German aircraft are often grossly in error as to their movements, and have no means whatever of estimating the effect of their promiscuous bombardment either materially or morally. In every case where damage has been caused it is private property that has suffered, and in most cases this private property has been of the small residential kind. Almost all the unfortunate people who have been killed have not only been noncombatants, but noncombatants of a kind which it has been hitherto the honorable practice of civilized warfare to exempt from attack, that is to say, women and children, small shopkeepers, and working men, the sacrifice of whose lives can effect no military purpose whatever, either morally or materially.

The folly and futility of the raids which took place last week can be well imagined when it is remembered that the London district, which may be taken for conven-

ience as the area administered by the Metropolitan Police, is just short of 700 square miles in area. It is by hastily dropping at random in the dark certain explosive and incendiary material somewhere on this enormous surface that the enemy professed to be accomplishing some important military purpose. In point of fact, no public institution of any kind was hit, nor any power station, nor arsenal. No damage was done which affects the use of any building connected directly or indirectly with the conduct of the war. It is true that two hospitals narrowly escaped damage, but it is only fair to say on behalf of the officers of an army which has done its best to destroy the cathedrals of Belgium and France that up to the present they have only succeeded in hitting one church. So far as the moral effect of the raid was concerned, it is to be feared that from the standpoint of Berlin it was a complete failure. If Count Zeppelin himself accompanied the raiding aircraft (as has been reported from Holland) he will be disappointed to learn that only a minority of the vast population of London was aware of the presence of his airship at all, and that among those who heard the guns fire or saw the Zeppelin the feelings everywhere aroused were of interest and curiosity rather than of fear.

That London and its suburbs as a community faces calmly the murderous efforts of the raiders is in no way a mitigation of the callous and purposeless brutality of their action, or of the tragedies which have followed.

Here are a few pictures of the effects

accomplished by the officers and crew of the last airship which visited the London district:

First—Somewhere in the area of London you can go to the corner of a little street; this one has a public house at the corner. Outside it on Wednesday evening last week after the place was closed a man and a woman were talking. The woman went off to buy some supper at a neighboring shop; the man stood there to wait for her, and while he was waiting there fell at his feet the first of the explosive bombs. It killed the man outright; it blew pieces of paving stone on to the surrounding roofs, it blew in the front of the public house, reducing the stock to a mere mass of broken glass, over which still floats an indefinable odor of assorted forms of alcohol; it took off the top of a grand piano on the floor above, twisted the iron bedsteads, injured a woman who was sleeping there, and reduced what had been the carefully kept living rooms of a small family to a mass of soot and dust and plaster and broken glass. In what conceivable respect did it contribute to the progress of the war?

Second—In another part of the area over which the airship passed, there is a big block of workmen's dwellings—places where men live who are away at their trades all day and often all night, and which day and night are crowded with children. A bomb dropped on the roof of one of these, and right under the roof was a little flat in which four children had been put to sleep. Two of them after being put to bed had got up surreptitiously to make tea in an adjoining room; you can see the bed that they left now, a mass of blackened and charred sheets with the mattress torn to pieces. They escaped by a miracle, but in the small bedroom next door to them the other two children were killed in an instant. These buildings are strong, and the bomb did not penetrate far; you would hardly notice the damage to the roof if you pass it in the street. That was all that was happening when the Captain of the German aircraft professed to think he was visiting the docks and vitally damaging the Port of London.

Third—In another place a bomb dropped through the roof of a stable yard; it was an incendiary bomb, and it set on fire a motor car on which it fell. The stableman and his wife, in spite of the fire, which was immediately serious, set out to rescue the eleven horses which were in the stable behind the fire, and they were carefully taken out one by one and let loose in the street. A dog which was kept to guard the premises was also carefully rescued, so was a caged bird kept on the first floor above the fire, though while she was bringing it down the stableman's wife was blown off her feet on the stairs by the blast of an explosive bomb which fell in a neighboring courtyard. The only casualty in this case was a bantam cock.

Fourth—In such a case as the last the futility of the enemy's attack was merely ridiculous; in others it was tragic. Somewhere in the vast area of London's suburbs there is a little block of houses standing almost by itself and divided up into small flats. On the ground floor there were sleeping a widow, her daughter, aged 18, and a young man whom they kept as a lodger. On the first floor was a family with three children, two of them girls, and on the second floor a workingman and his wife with five children, four of them girls and one a boy. The bomb dropped squarely on the roof of the house. As the laborer and his wife who were on the second floor described it, the whole partition wall beside their bed gave way and disappeared; the man pushed his wife out into the centre of the room and went off to find his children. Two of them, who slept in the room under the spot where the bomb fell, had vanished with room, bed, and everything, and their bodies were found two days later under the débris of the house. Of the others, the boy, aged 8, ran for safety to the staircase, which was blown away, and in the dark fell down into the hole where his sisters' bodies were buried in the ruins. Of the first floor inhabitants two were missing altogether, and their bodies were subsequently recovered. Of the ground floor, where apparently the worst effect of the explosion took place, it is sufficient to

say that part of the body of the man who occupied it was found 150 yards away.

Fifth—A bomb dropped in the street blew in the front of a shop, but spent the main force of its explosion on a passing motor omnibus. There were twenty people on board, including the driver and conductor. Nine of them were killed and eleven injured, among the injured being the driver, who had both his legs blown off, and died shortly afterward in the hospital.

These incidents alone account for nearly half the deaths which have been caused. They will suffice to show what is the real measure and nature of the success which has attended the enemy's attack on the London area.

In human life and limb the net results of the week's raids in the London district were 38 killed or died of wounds and 124 injured.

It ought not to be omitted from mention that two policemen and one Army Service Corps man appeared among the casualties; otherwise no person in uniform was either killed or injured.

A LATER ATTACK.

Fifty-five persons were killed and 114 injured in the Zeppelin raid over London on the night of Oct. 13, 1915. Fourteen of the killed and thirteen of the wounded were military casualties, according to an announcement made later by the Official Press Bureau. The text of the announcement follows:

The Press Bureau of the War Office announces that a fleet of hostile airships visited the eastern counties and a portion of the London area last night and dropped bombs.

Anti-aircraft guns of the Royal Field

Artillery, attached to the central force, were in action, and an airship was seen to heel over on its side and to drop to a lower altitude.

Five aeroplanes of the Royal Flying Corps went up, but, owing to atmospheric conditions, only one aeroplane succeeded in locating an airship. This aeroplane, however, was unable to overhaul the airship before it was lost in the fog.

Some houses were damaged and several fires were started, but no serious damage was caused to military material. All fires were soon got under control by the fire brigade.

The following military casualties, in addition to the one announced last night, have been reported: Fourteen killed and thirteen wounded.

The Home Office announces the following casualties other than the military casualties reported above: Killed—Men, 27; women, 9; children, 5; total, 41. Injured—Men, 64; women, 30; children, 7; total, 101.

Of these casualties 32 killed and 95 injured were in the London area, and these figures include those announced last night.

The *Globe*, which has been conducting a campaign advocating reprisals, says today:

"The public knows now that the Zeppelin, choosing its own time and circumstances for attack, is practically immune against the ordinary weapons of aerial warfare. The only way to hit the enemy is to strike at him as he strikes at us—to bomb his sleeping towns."

At a meeting today of theatrical managers for discussion of a proposal to substitute matinées for night performances it was decided to continue the latter.

London's Aerial Defense

By Arthur J. Balfour

First Lord of the British Admiralty

Speaking in the House of Commons on Sept. 15, 1915, Sir H. Dalziel put the question whether the Admiralty were satisfied with the aerial defense of London. Were they satisfied that the guns were of the right kind, that they were powerful enough, that the men in charge were fully qualified for the responsible task which had fallen on them? Why on a recent visit of Zeppelins to London were no aeroplanes apparently called into requisition? He understood there were plenty waiting. Had the Admiralty made a definite study of the

defenses of Paris, against which flying machines seemed to have been unable to make any headway? Who was in charge of the aerial defense of London before Sir Percy Scott? Sir Percy Scott's appointment had, he thought, been received in all quarters with great satisfaction, but he could not understand why it was necessary to wait until the Zeppelins had visited London before calling for Sir Percy Scott's advice. His appointment did not mean that if the present system was imperfect it would immediately become perfect. He supposed the whole question was the provision of the proper gun. Too much must not be expected till Sir Percy Scott had had time to review the whole situation, and probably to secure the guns which would be required. Mr. Balfour's reply to these questions appear below.

THE right honorable gentleman who has just sat down made a pointed and perfectly legitimate appeal to me to say something about the defense of London. He asked me questions about the guns, the provision of guns, the character of the guns, and their sufficiency in point of number, and their sufficiency in point of quality, and he also asked me various questions about the organization of the defense of London, which, as he truly observed, is not a thing which can be brought to perfection merely by appointing officers. In order that the House may really judge of the situation fairly they must remember that nobody foresaw, when the war broke out, the full development of aerial war, whether on our own part or on the part of our opponents. This is a branch of war which has never been tried before, and on which there has been no experience until this war which counts for anything, and, therefore, it is inevitable when you have to deal with a situation of that sort that before your eyes the situation changes, and the organization which those responsible before the war might naturally have thought adequate is proved by experience to be quite inadequate.

If we had set to work, let us say, three or four years before the war with a full knowledge of the development of aerial warfare; if the Government of that day had set to work with that knowledge to organize the defense of London, I have no doubt it would have been organized on lines different from those which now prevail, but you really ought not to criticise the Minister then in charge because it is not done. That is not a fair way to look at human effort. The Naval Aerial Service has, I think, quadrupled since the war commenced—I rather think I am under the mark in say-

ing that. An organization which might have been adequate and was adequate when the war broke out and responsibilities seemed relatively slight in regard to the defense of the internal parts of the country, gradually became more and more inadequate, and has been supplemented, and is still in course of being supplemented, day by day. I hope the organization intended to meet this danger is improving and is growing far more rapidly than the danger itself. That is my hope and my expectation.

The right honorable gentleman asked why Sir Percy Scott, whose appointment he is good enough to approve, was not appointed before. The answer to that is really the answer to all this particular class of attack. There are things which were foreseen before the war, there are things which were not foreseen, and which I do not think could have been foreseen before the war. One of them was the peculiar development of this method of warfare. The appointment of Sir Percy Scott is not the only great change of organization which it has been found necessary to effect in consequence of the development of aircraft warfare. I now find it absolutely necessary to bring the whole air service more into harmony with the general practice of the Admiralty, to greatly increase the staff at the head of affairs, and to make arrangements to deal with the enormous amount of work which is now thrown upon those responsible for the air service. The naval air service is now an immense service. The number of fliers is very great and the number of machines is very great. There are responsibilities as regards the design of machines. There are responsibilities for arranging the whole system of coast defense, and the organization which was not inadequate when the war broke out I found completely

inadequate soon after I assumed responsibility as First Lord of the Admiralty. I hope, as regards the organization, that it is now either complete, or in a fair way to completion. The changes have been very great, and they have all been in the direction of fitting the office to deal with new and great responsibilities, and I hope as time goes on their adequacy will more and more make itself felt.

If the right honorable gentleman asks me whether I think that at this moment everything has been done that can be done or will be done for the defense of London, I do not think so. I think the thing is still in progress, and still in process of development. If he asks me whether I think it possible within a reasonable time to provide an adequate defense of London, I should give him a much more reassuring answer. Let me frankly say I should give him a more reassuring answer in no small degree, because I have a great belief in the organizing capacity and the energy and resource, the openness to new ideas, which has always characterized the distinguished Admiral who now has the defense of London immediately under his control. [Cheers.]

The right honorable gentleman mentioned Paris. Pains have been taken to make ourselves acquainted with the methods of the defense of Paris, and much, no doubt, has been learned, and will be learned, from studying their example. But let not the House be carried away with the idea that the problem of London is identical with the problem of Paris. ["Hear, hear!"] I am sure the right honorable gentleman does not fall into that error. Nor, if I may say so, is the problem of one who has got to try and defend London at all similar to that of the Minister who has to try and defend Paris. Paris starts with being under a single military government, and it starts with being a great military fortress, and therefore, being a military fortress, it is supplied with a great mass of guns and with great defensive arrangements. London is not a fortified town.

London is, as everybody knows—and nobody knows it better than the Germans—a city which should not, under the laws of civilized warfare, be the subject of this kind of attack. But we take our enemies as we find them. ["Hear, hear!" and cheers.]

We perfectly recognize that a nation which is prepared for any degree of brutality at sea is not likely to show undue humanity when it comes to deal with land. ["Hear, hear!"] Therefore we do not for a moment suppose that London, or any other undefended place in this country, is to derive more consideration from the laws of humanity or the laws of nations. But I hope and believe, although I cannot promise immunity from attack to any part of the United Kingdom—in war immunity from attack can be rarely promised by any responsible Minister or General—but I think I can promise the House that everything is being done to develop and to organize such defenses as are possible against aerial attack. I think I can tell the House, without being unduly optimistic, that, lamentable as have been the results of these German attacks on undefended places, the actual number of persons killed and injured and the actual amount of property destroyed has been relatively insignificant, although the hardship inflicted on particular individuals has been tragic beyond expression. If you turn your eyes away from the cases of individual hardship, cruelty, and suffering, and consider simply how much injury to this country, either as a great economic unit or as a great fighting force, has been done by these aerial attacks, I can truly say that so far that damage has been insignificant, and, although immunity cannot be promised for the future, I have every hope that Sir Percy Scott and all the other naval authorities who are devoting their minds to this problem will be able to diminish the dangers in the future, to increase the security, and to enable his Majesty's lieges to sleep comfortably in their beds. ["Hear, hear!"]

Russia's Recoil

Czar's Resumed Offensive Strong and Well Supplied

By a Military Expert

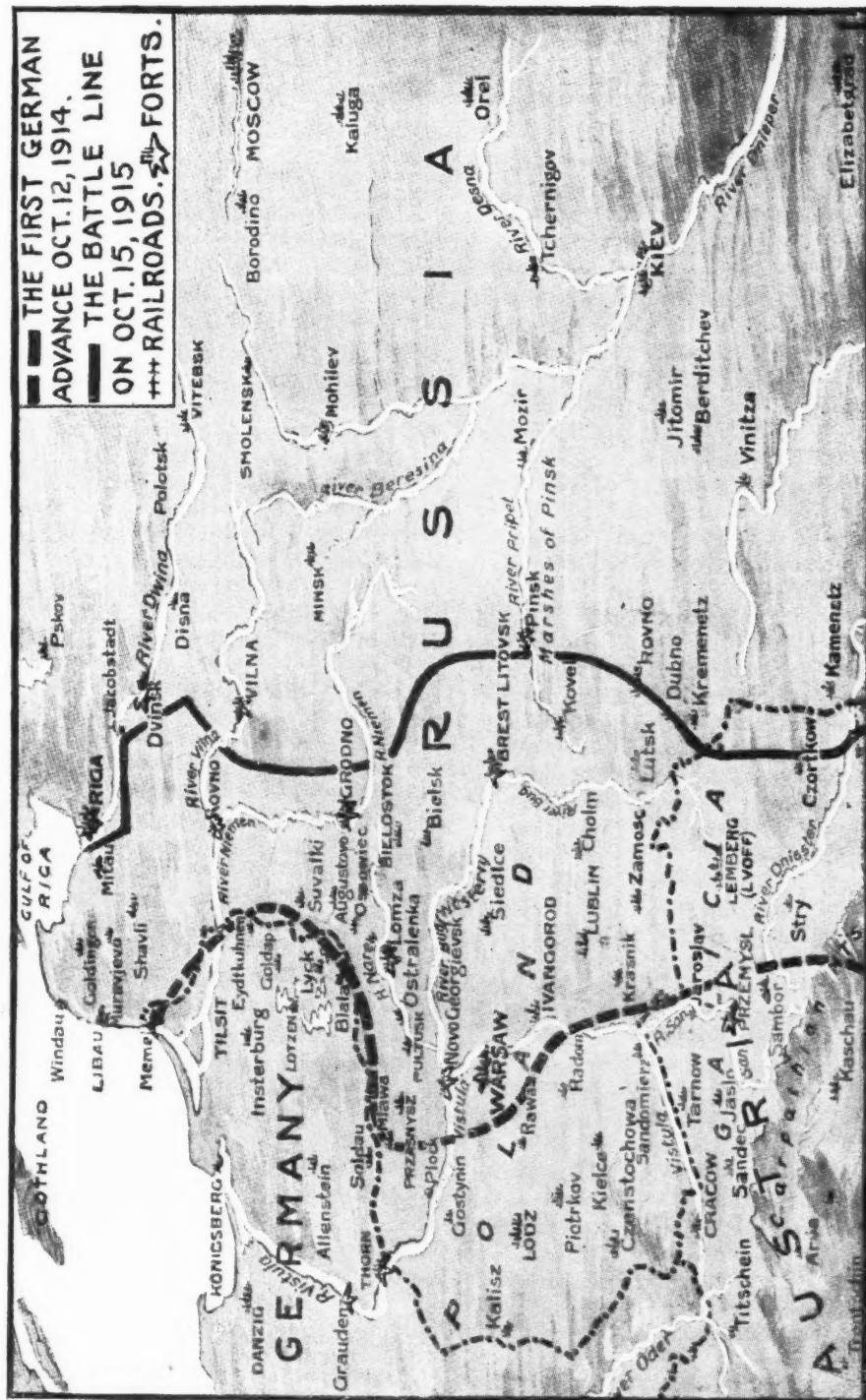
WHAT was generally regarded in early October as a temporary check to the Germans on the Russian front while the Teuton leaders were making redistributions of their forces bids fair to become permanent. In fact, the German offense seems to be paralyzed. From Riga to Bukowina Teuton reports have told of but little except their ability to repulse Russian attacks. It seems that the initiative has passed to the Russians and that, even in front of Dvinsk, the Germans are now on the defensive. The combination of the rainy season, of marshes, of long lines of supply and inability to maintain a continuous flow of heavy shells, has brought the Germans to a halt. Once operations in the east, by reason of difficulties in transportation, are reduced to a matter of rifle fire, the Germans no longer can run over the Russian armies, but, meeting them on an equal footing, can make but little headway against them.

Germany has up to now literally blasted her way through Poland by concentrating her superiority of heavy guns at carefully selected points and blazing the trail for the infantry to follow. Against this the Russians had no defense. Their own guns were outranged and outmunicioned, and when the German infantry reached the Russian trenches it was to find an enemy thoroughly shaken, almost demoralized, whose resisting power was almost gone. As the German advantages, however, disappear, from whatever cause, whether through inability to bring up their own heavy guns or through increase in the Russian supply of munitions, the Russian defense becomes as strong, if not stronger, than the German attack.

The Russian soldier, though for the

most part uneducated, is, nevertheless, an excellent fighting man. If properly officered, in fact, he is almost the par of any other soldier of Continental Europe. Consequently, when the game is reduced to the infantry rifle and the machine gun, it becomes largely a question of numbers. On such a basis the Teutons cannot hold their own. The demands made on them from all points are so great that everywhere except in the recently begun operations in Serbia, they are outnumbered. They can, it is true, by clever use of railroad lines, effect rapid concentrations at selected points, but it is always at the expense of some other parts of the line. The net result is that, after an almost inconceivable sacrifice in men and an expenditure of enormous supplies of shell in order to accomplish a given object—the forcing of Russia to a decisive battle—Germany faces a Winter in the interior of Russia, with her object as far removed from accomplishment as it was months ago. This means stagnation, and time works to the benefit of Russia more than to that of Germany.

The Riga section during the week ended Oct. 17 was extremely quiet, but south, in the Dvinsk region, there was violent fighting. Yet, in spite of all their efforts, the Germans seem no nearer to capturing Dvinsk. Small gains at some points have been more than offset by the losses at others. From Dvinsk to the Dniester the Germans have been hard put to it to hold the Russians in check without attempting an offense of their own. As a matter of fact, the Russians have made a number of gains at different points—unimportant, it is true, but indicative of the reviving striking power that enabled Russia to sweep through Galicia a year ago.



Germanic War Area in the East, Showing the Battle Line on Oct. 15, 1915.

What the Hour Demands

By David Lloyd George

British Minister of Munitions

In the book published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, entitled "Through Terror to Triumph: Speeches and Pronouncements of the Right Hon. David Lloyd George, M. P., Since the Beginning of the War," Mr. George has expressed in the preface his estimate of the need for British service during the three months preceding December, 1915. His words appear below.

AFTER twelve months of war my conviction is stronger than ever that this country could not have kept out of it without imperiling its security and impairing its honor. We could not have looked on cynically with folded arms while the country we had given our word to protect was being ravaged and trodden by one of our own co-trustees. If British women and children were being brutally destroyed on the high seas by German submarines this nation would have insisted on calling the infanticide empire to a stern reckoning. Everything that has happened since the declaration of war has demonstrated clearly that a military system so regardless of good faith, of honorable obligations, and of the elementary impulses of humanity constituted a menace to civilization of the most sinister character; and despite the terrible cost of suppressing it the well-being of humanity demands that such a system should be challenged and destroyed. The fact that events have also shown that the might of this military clique has exceeded the gloomiest prognostications provides an additional argument for its destruction. The greater the might the darker the menace.

Nor have the untoward incidents of the war weakened my faith in ultimate victory—always provided that the allied nations put forth the whole of their strength ere it is too late. Anything less must lead to defeat. The allied countries have an overwhelming preponderance in the raw material that goes to the making and equipment of armies, whether in men, money, or accessible metals and ma-

chinery. But this material has to be mobilized and utilized. It would be idle to pretend that the first twelve months of the war have seen this task accomplished satisfactorily. Had the Allies realized in time the full strength of their redoubtable and resourceful foes—nay, what is more, had they realized their own strength and resources, and taken prompt action to organize them—today we should have witnessed the triumphant spectacle of their guns pouring out a stream of shot and shell which would have deluged the German trenches with fire and scorched the German legions back across their own frontiers.

What is the actual position? It is thoroughly well known to the Germans, and any one in any land, belligerent or neutral, who reads intelligently the military news must by now have a comprehension of it. With the resources of Great Britain, France, Russia—yea, of the whole industrial world—at the disposal of the Allies, it is obvious that the central powers have still an overwhelming superiority in all the material and equipment of war.

The result of this deplorable fact is exactly what might have been foreseen. The iron heel of Germany has sunk deeper than ever into French and Belgian soil; Poland is entirely German; Lithuania is rapidly following. Russian fortresses, deemed impregnable, are falling like sand castles before the resistless tide of Teutonic invasion. When will that tide recede? When will it be stemmed? As soon as the Allies are supplied with abundance of war material.

Two Millions of Lives

War's Cost in Human Beings Estimated by a Military Expert

A special dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated at West Point on Oct. 7, 1915, presented the following report:

SINCE the great war in Europe started more than 2,000,000 men have been killed; the wounded number nearly 4,000,000, while the total number of prisoners and of the missing is more than 2,000,000. These are conservative minimum figures compiled from the best available data, and were made public in Cullum Hall here tonight by Brig. Gen. Francis Vinton Greene, U. S. A., retired, in an address on the war, delivered before the members of the New York State Historical Association.

General Greene is an honor graduate of West Point of the Class of '70 and the author of many standard works on military history. He gave his hearers the benefit of what he called an "intelligent guess" as to the casualties of the war, and submitted a table showing the increase of the national indebtedness of the European belligerents. The increase over 1914, approximately, is \$20,000,000,000. How much of this is war debt, of course, is problematical. The combined wealth of the Allies is estimated at \$204,000,000,000, while that of the Teutonic allies, with Turkey included, is estimated at \$108,000,000,000.

General Greene also discussed the changes in the art of warfare that have made the great struggle not only the most frightful but also the most interesting, from a military point of view, of any war in history. Incidentally, the speaker indicated what, in his own opinion, is required to make adequate the national defense of the United States.

In the present decade, he said, there had occurred more important changes in the art of warfare than in the previous fifty years, and in those fifty years more than in the five preceding centuries; in other words, since the first use of gunpowder in warfare.

What these changes in the art of war-

fare mean is learned by a study of the tables of casualties, financial expenditures, &c., compiled by General Greene. One of these gives the population, based on official figures, of the various countries concerned in the war. These figures are taken from official reports. Summarized, they show that on the side of the Allies there are in Europe 266,500,000 people, as compared with 122,200,000 population of the Teutonic nations and their ally, Turkey. The colonies of the Allies have a population of 472,500,000 people, as compared with 32,800,000 in the colonies that now or did belong to Germany, Austria, and Turkey. The total population upon which the Allies can draw is 739,000,000, as compared with 155,000,000 who owe allegiance to Emperor William, Franz Josef, or the Sultan.

Another table gives the "armed strength" of the various belligerents, the estimates being based on figures to be found in various standard works. General Greene describes the figures as "approximate only," but "probably sufficiently accurate for comparative purposes." This table, which gives both the army and naval totals of the powers at war, follows:

ARMED STRENGTH.

Great	Armies.		Navies.	
	Peace.	War.	Ships.	Tonnage.
Britain ..	156,000	700,000	545	2,700,000
France	800,000	2,780,000	368	900,000
Russia	900,000	2,600,000	241	680,000
Italy	270,000	1,500,000	183	500,000
Belgium ...	45,000	170,000	...	.....
Serbia	25,000	100,000	...	.....
Total....	2,196,000	7,940,000	1,337	4,780,000
Germany ..	800,000	3,500,000	304	1,300,000
Austria-				
Hungary..	340,000	1,400,000	124	350,000
Turkey	220,000	300,000	41 (?)	100,000
Total....	1,360,000	5,260,000	469	1,750,000

The most interesting of the tables is the one that gives the casualties in the present war. The figures are based upon

official reports made in the House of Commons from totals printed in the newspapers and from data gathered from other sources.

"They are not much more than intelligent guesses," said General Greene tonight, "but I have used minimum figures." This table follows:

LOSSES IN BATTLE.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Gt. Britain	86,000	251,000	55,000	392,000
France	400,000	700,000	300,000	1,400,000
Russia	500,000	800,000	900,000	2,200,000
Italy	5,000	15,000	5,000	25,000
Belgium	25,000	40,000	15,000	80,000
Serbia	20,000	40,000	10,000	70,000
 Total	1,036,000	1,846,000	1,285,000	4,167,000
Germany	600,000	1,000,000	300,000	1,900,000
Austria	400,000	700,000	700,000	1,800,000
Turkey	30,000	80,000	20,000	130,000
 Total	1,030,000	1,780,000	1,020,000	3,830,000

General Greene's figures dealing with the financial situation in Europe are as follows:

FINANCES.

(In Millions of Dollars.)

	National Nat'l Debt.	Per Wealth.	1914.	1916.	Cap. P.C.
Great Britain	\$85,000	\$3,485	\$11,000	260	13
France	50,000	6,345	9,500	237	19
Russia	40,000	4,540	6,500	47	16
Italy	20,000	2,850	3,000	85	15
Belgium	9,000	825	825	110	12
Serbia	500	125	125	41	8
 Total	204,500	18,170	\$30,950		
Germany	80,000	3,735	9,985	153	12
Aus.-Hungary	25,000	1,050	2,000	39	8
Turkey	3,000(?)	675	675	188	22
 Total	108,000	\$5,460	\$12,660		

"The figures relating to Great Britain and Germany," said General Greene, "are accurate. The others are approximate only. The estimates of the cost of the war vary from \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 per day, which will bring the total cost on Jan. 1, 1916, to nearly \$25,000,000,000, of which probably 80 per cent. has been borrowed."

In his discussion of other phases of the war General Greene laid stress on the important part played by the aeroplane, the automobile, the submarine, and wireless telegraphy, which are for the first time effectively useful in warfare.

"From Napoleon's time to the present the art of war has benefited by all the wonderful improvements in the

mechanical arts and sciences, all of which are the servants of war as well as of peace. Instantaneous communication of intelligence, marvelously rapid transportation of troops, the ability to feed and supply unheard-of numbers in the field, flying through the air to detect the enemy's movements, swimming under water to destroy the enemy's ships, hurling projectiles of unprecedented size to destroy his forts, caring for hundreds upon thousands of wounded, which but for the automobile would have perished upon the field—these are some of the more important methods of warfare now.

"The fabled stories of the countless hordes who crossed the Hellespont with Xerxes and Alexander have been far surpassed by the actual numbers of the forces engaged in the present conflict. The figures are certainly startling. In Europe 78 per cent. of the population at war, in all the world 56 per cent. of the population involved in the conflict; 13,000,000 men actually under arms; 2,000,000 killed, nearly 4,000,000 wounded, more than 2,000,000 prisoners. We cannot grasp these figures, but we can get some idea of what they mean by comparing them with the results of previous wars. We were accustomed to speak of our civil war as the greatest conflict of modern times, but apparently it was only one-tenth the magnitude of the present conflict.

"At no time did the number of men actually under arms, North and South, exceed 1,300,000, and the total number of those killed in battle and died of wounds on the Northern side was 110,070, and on the Southern side probably not more than 80,000; so that in four years of war then the destruction of life was less than one-tenth of the destruction of life during a little more than one year at the present time. In the Napoleonic wars, from 1796 to 1815, the largest army ever assembled was that which Napoleon led into Russia in 1812, and this numbered somewhat in excess of 500,000. The German armies fighting today in Russia on the east and in France on the west are more than six times as large."

Case of the Arabic

German Official Disavowal of the Submarine Commander's Act

THE German-American crisis arising from the destruction of the British liner Arabic by a German submarine and the killing of two Americans and about forty other persons was ended on Oct. 5, 1915, completely to the satisfaction of the American Government when Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, sent a letter to Mr. Lansing, the Secretary of State, expressing the German Government's regret and its disavowal of the act of the submarine commander. At the same time Count von Bernstorff assured Mr. Lansing that the Kaiser's instructions to his naval commanders had been made so stringent that incidents like the sinking of the Arabic could not recur. The Ambassador, on behalf of his Government, accepted liability for all damages to American citizens resulting from the destruction of the Arabic, and announced his willingness to negotiate amounts due.

The language of Count von Bernstorff's note makes it plain that the long and bitter controversy arising from the German submarine campaign is near an end. At the State Department it was said officially on Oct. 5 that the results of the less formal communications between the Ambassador and the Secretary of State, which ended in the Ambassador's satisfactory letter of that date, indicated that better and quicker results probably could be reached without additional exchanges of formal notes.

This is taken to mean that the German answer to the last American note on the general submarine question, originating from the destruction of the Lusitania, may never reach Washington. Such a note had been prepared, and one sentence from it, giving Germany's promise not to attack unresisting liners without warning, was quoted in a short letter from Count von Bernstorff to Mr. Lansing shortly after the attack on the Arabic. But the body of the note, it was understood, probably would give place to

informal conversations between the two diplomats, although at the end of their discussions, when a full agreement is reached on all the remaining minor details, this settlement may yet be made public in the form of a letter.

"It is a diplomatic victory for the United States," Ambassador von Bernstorff remarked to a friend, referring to the Arabic settlement, "but credit must be given to Germany, I believe, for nobly accepting the word of the British officers that they did not intend to ram the submarine."

This point, it was learned, at one time threatened to interrupt the proceedings, as the German Government at first wished to arbitrate the conflicting evidence.

The promptness with which Count von Bernstorff altered the original draft of the letter demonstrated that he had been empowered to negotiate a complete settlement of the case, and it was assumed that he naturally did not finally accede until the American Government made known its unalterable determination not to relinquish any of its demands.

The results of American diplomacy under the guidance of President Wilson may now be stated with something like completeness. They include:

1. Germany's acknowledgment of the right of American ships to sail through the war zone unmolested, with the accompanying acknowledgment of full German liability for any damage inflicted by German naval vessels to these American craft.
2. German acknowledgment of liability for American ships sunk anywhere by German war vessels, even if the American bottoms are taking contraband to Germany's enemies, as was alleged in the case of the William P. Frye.
3. Germany's promise not to sink American ships carrying conditional contraband to Germany's enemies, even when it is impossible to take such ships into a German port.
4. Germany's offer to arbitrate the German claim of right to sink American ships carrying absolute contraband to Germany's enemies.

5. Germany's acknowledgment of liability for damages to American citizens injured by German attacks on merchant ships, even of Germany's enemies, when these attacks are delivered without warning and without the assailed ships attempting resistance or escape.

6. Germany's promise not to attack unresisting liners, even of her enemies, without warning and without providing for the safety of the passengers and crew.

7. Germany's disavowal of the sinking of the Arabic and an expression of regret at the incident, with notice to the offending submarine commander of this action.

8. Germany's statement that hereafter the mistaken impression of a German submarine commander that his boat was about to be rammed by an enemy merchantman would not be regarded as diminishing German liability for damages inflicted upon American citizens.

All that is left of the points in dispute are minor details that promise an easy settlement. There may be some conversations necessary before the final chapter of the Lusitania controversy is made public.

German Disavowal in the Arabic Case

Ambassador von Bernstorff's letter disavowing the act of the German submarine commander in sinking the steamer Arabic, which was sent to Secretary Lansing on Oct. 5, 1915, follows:

Washington, D. C., Oct. 5, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

Prompted by the desire to reach a satisfactory agreement with regard to the Arabic incident, my Government has given me the following instructions:

The order issued by his Majesty the Emperor to the commanders of the German submarines, of which I notified you on a previous occasion, has been made so stringent that the recurrence of incidents similar to the Arabic case is considered out of the question.

According to the report of Commander Schneider of the submarine which sank the Arabic and his affidavit, as well as

those of his men, Commander Schneider was convinced that the Arabic intended to ram the submarine.

On the other hand, the Imperial Government does not doubt the good faith of the affidavit of the British officers of the Arabic, according to which the Arabic did not intend to ram the submarine. The attack of the submarine was undertaken against the instructions issued to the commander. The Imperial Government regrets and disavows this act, and has notified Commander Schneider accordingly.

Under these circumstances, my Government is prepared to pay an indemnity for American lives which, to its deep regret, have been lost on the Arabic. I am authorized to negotiate with you about the amount of this indemnity.

I remain, my dear Lansing, Yours very sincerely, J. VON BERNSTORFF.

Munition Workers Opposed to Women

An Associated Press Dispatch dated Oct. 5, 1915, reported:

Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, at a Women's Social and Political Union meeting in London this afternoon, openly denounced as traitors representatives of organized labor who, she said, were opposing the employment of women in the present crisis.

"I asked the Government to set up factories to train women in munitions work," she said. "Mr. Lloyd George was willing, the women were willing, but this training of women was opposed by unionized skilled workers. This is nothing short of treachery, and those who stood in the way were traitors."

The German and British States of Mind

By John Galsworthy

A version of this article originally appeared in *The Chicago Tribune*. It has been specially revised by Mr. Galsworthy for its appearance in more permanent form in *CURRENT HISTORY*.

TO talk about this horror is like whispering in a hurricane. If one must whisper, let it be on the psychological aspect of the War, as it concerns Germany and England. White Papers, Grey Books, and so forth are only evidence of the National Positions and States of Mind behind Diplomacy. Let me, then, take the National Position and State of Mind of Germany first.

Germany arrived late on the European stage. She arrived when other Powers, and notably Britain, had attained all the territorial expansion which their wildest dreams could desire. Germany is geographically pinched between races, the Slav and the Frank, and at sea the Briton, with whose spirits the Teuton spirit does not feel itself in accord. This geographical position, coupled with the hate left in France by the wresting of Alsace and Lorraine, or, as the Germans would phrase it, the restoration of those provinces to Germany, inspired in Germany the feeling that for self-preservation she must be mighty in armament. She duly became so mighty as to infect every other country with fear of her intentions. Germany has, since her Unification, developed a highly efficient and remarkable autocracy, and definite national ideals of life and culture, which she believes to be the best in the world. The Military, Bureaucratic, Professorial, and Journalistic circles in Germany, inheriting from Frederick the Great, Bismarck, and other leading spirits, the philosophy that in international affairs "Might is Right," have sedulously fostered it in the people at large, together with a patriotism pervading every thought and action.

To bring these doctrines to full fruition the German Nation has made for two

generations great efforts and sacrifices, perfecting and consolidating a Military, Naval, and Social Machine of stupendous power, the consciousness of which, to judge from demeanor and utterance, has filled all Germans with a sincere belief in their superiority to the rest of the world. Germany, moreover, has expanded commercially with a rapidity and success that might well turn the heads of any people.

To sum up: The modern German state of mind is, We were handicapped by our late arrival. We have a racial and philosophic conviction that we have as much, even more, right than those who happened to arrive before us to World Empire and World Leadership, and though we have no wish to disturb Peace, we cannot afford to let anything endanger the full preservation of our national prosperity or hinder the full realization of our national dreams.

I hope this is a fair statement of the German position and state of mind—a position and state of mind based, not on the usual quiet belief in their own country that all peoples feel, but on a frank assumption of national superiority, to be asserted at all costs. Take for illustration the saying, not of an Emperor or Military Bureaucrat, not even of a Professor, but of the leading German poet, Gerhart Hauptmann: "Our victory will guarantee the perpetuation of the Teutonic races to the betterment of the world."

In a word, modern Germany is a throw-back to the epoch before the ideas of Internationalism and Democracy had established themselves; and so mighty and self-confident a throw-back, that she is in danger of dragging the whole world back with her to the point which in her present mood she believes to be the summit of the Universe.

The British Position and State of Mind

is more complicated. Britain is a very curious blend of aristocratic (not autocratic) and democratic feelings; a blend that absolutely cannot be understood by any one who has not lived the English life from his birth up. Britain is and always has been extra-Europian, something strange to the other nations of Europe. This, and the fact that politically she is the oldest and most-settled Western country, are the natural results of her being an island, and having had the chance to develop for centuries at leisure, without foreign interruption, and attain a sort of common sense, live-and-let-live plane of existence. She has long had everything she wants, and cannot therefore claim any credit for not wishing to disturb the world. She is (because she has no reason to be anything else) fundamentally a peace-lover, fundamentally satisfied with things as they are, or, rather, were.

It is something of a rule (to which there are, of course, exceptions) that only when the well-being of a man or nation is guaranteed, can one expect altruistic sentiment to come into play. By the accident of her position Britain has been able to begin to feel sentiment in the matter of World Politics, to assume a championship of Peace, of little nations, of the sanctity of Treaties. And these assumptions have in turn reacted on the English till they really have a certain feeling for the weak, for their pledged word, and so forth. Let any man examine his friends and acquaintances and he will see precisely the same process going on, the same softening altruism progressing in those who have reached a certain point of security, such as has been reached among the nations by Britain, and, more rapidly, by America. This state of mind in that curious country, Britain, has been and still is somewhat clouded to the outside gaze, by a fringe of noisy, imperialistic drum-beaters, who claim for her before the world precisely what the Germans now claim for Germany, that Britons are inherently superior to others, and are in fact what the Germans also think they are—God's own people! To men with any sense of humor and proportion, the claims are equally absurd. But

these drum-beaters are less than ever typical of Britain. It may be taken as certain that no British Government could now wage a deliberately aggressive war in Europe, and remain in Office a day.

No British Government (for instance) would ever have received sufficient support to enable it to *initiate* an attack on Germany for the sake of destroying her growing commercial prosperity and naval power as Germans, with a naïve sincerity, believe. Britain, as a whole, has neither fear nor jealousy of German commerce; she has arrived at a point of wisdom or unwisdom which believes that Commerce best takes care of itself, and before this war began anti-German feeling in Britain, apart from a certain mutual dislike of each other's manners, dated only from the initiation of the German Naval Policy, and was due to genuine fear that Germany intended in the long run to attack. Whether or no Germany was acting with that view, or merely, as she said, to safeguard her commerce from attacks that would most assuredly never have been made on it, is now an academic question which can be left to those whom it amuses.

If Germany had not declared war on France, but had waited without offensive movement for an attack on the Franco-German border, Britain would now be neutral. I have no authority for this statement, but it is my deliberate conviction. For, in such circumstances, the British Government, even if so inclined—would not have received a mandate from Parliament, and most surely not from the electors of Parliament. This is one of the many points on which Germany cannot understand Britain. German Ministers are responsible to their Emperor. British Ministers are responsible to Parliament and the electors of Parliament. In Germany there is no connection whatever between the arbiters of national policy and the nation; in Britain there is through Parliament a *very real* connection; so real that our diplomacy in this crisis was even obliged to take a certain tentative character; apparently mistaken, in Germany—where no such check on diplomacy exists—for chicanery. The fact is, Democracy and Autocracy cannot

lie down together, and whenever they try there is misunderstanding to the point of disaster.

When the thunderbolt of the Austrian demand on Serbia was discharged from the blue, the very last thing Britain was thinking about was a European war. The suggestion that she cooked up this devilish hash secretly is the final word in fantasy. The deciding factor for Britain was, without any question whatever, the violation of Belgium's neutrality—one of the most cynical and dire blunders ever made by any nation; and the fact that, through the violation Britain's friend, France, was hit below the belt. The profound disbelief with which this simple reason for British intervention has been received in Germany is but another proof of the impossibility that modern Germany finds in understanding modern Britain. They have got on to different planes of ethical thought. Modern German thought says in effect: "What! You went into this great war for the sake of a broken treaty—a mere scrap of torn-up paper—because you considered your honor involved? Oh! no! You know perfectly well that if it had suited you, as we thought it suited us, you, too, would have broken that treaty. Might is Right! Self-assertion is paramount. One must hack one's way through! Circumstances have given you the chance of your life to destroy us whom you have been longing to destroy ever since we began building our fleet. Hypocrite! Treacherous hypocrite!"

That is the perfectly sincere belief of modern German thought. If I am any judge whatever, if I have a psychological insight at all into the life, thought, and feeling in my own country, I say unreservedly that this belief is an entire misconception not of every individual Briton—by no means—but of the vast majority of Britons, that is to say, of collective modern British thought; and collective modern British thought does, in a way that Germans apparently cannot understand, govern British policy. However unfavorable to Britain the circumstances or combinations might have been, I feel certain she would have

gone to war with Germany over the violation of that little country's guaranteed neutrality, and the foul blow it dealt to a friend. I say it, as a hater of war, a despiser of war—*There was nothing else to do!* A treaty is a treaty; honor is honor! Whatever our past, and like all nations we have done some pretty bad things, we do not now indorse this modern German philosophy: "Might is Right." That common little expression, "Playing the game," has come to have a real significance in our country; come to be recognized as a standard, more or less perfectly observed, in every class.

The phrase expresses in minimum terms—and it is our national genius to minimize the expression of everything, in direct contrast to the national genius of Germany, which is to maximize the expression of everything—the phrase expresses, I say, a real national philosophy. Judging from two recent instances—the restrained behavior of American troops fired on by civilians at the occupation of Vera Cruz, and the honorable repudiation by the American Government of a doubtful position over the Panama Canal duties—it has become also the national philosophy of America. Neither England nor America has any right to claim credit for having this national philosophy; nor must it be taken as one that governs their conduct in relation to races that they esteem inferior.*

Thus, so far as Britain is concerned, this war is a struggle between two main states of mind; one taking rise in an autocratically governed country; the other in a country that grows day by day more democratic; one based on naked self-expression, the other on recognition of others besides self. The Germans have qualities of which we British might be proud, just as we have qualities of which the Germans might be proud; but, in so far at all events as European Politics are concerned, the two peoples are head-

*Here is, perhaps, the point of reconciliation between the British and the German national philosophy. They both believe that "Might is Right" in connection with inferior races; but Germany includes in that expression the whole world. Britain no longer does so.

ing in opposite directions. In Germany ends justify means; in England they do not. There never has been, and is not now, any way of reconciling those hostile states of mind; and now that they have come to grips, the one has got to eat the other.

In the eyes of modern Germany we are apparently a decadent people, riddled by liberty, sloth, sentiment, selfishness, and Pharisaism, and for all that very dangerous or we should not be so hated.

In our eyes the Germans have given their souls into the charge of a tyrannous machine; and have become thereby both domineering and servile, and dangerous to the liberties of others. The bitterness between us is the bitterness of strong peoples, each serving with all its might an irreconcilably different ideal of existence.

There are individual Germans—I know some—to whom this "Might is Right" doctrine, Militarism, Culture by rule of iron, and raw nationalist patriotism are abhorrent. There are individual Britons—I know some—who believe in these things, hate Democracy and despise

Altruism. A few swallows make no Summer. The main currents and divergences are plain. And the crash has come.

So far as Britain was concerned, the violation of Belgium's neutrality made intervention in this War a terrible matter of course. But the general conflagration seems to have been inherent in the state of perpetual fever that hangs over countries armed to the teeth and controlled by despotic Bureaucracies. I believe it to be in truth a case of the spontaneous combustion of an atmosphere sulphurous for years, and at last overcharged.

In justice to Germany, there is in her attitude a real element of fear for her position, wedged in between strong allied Powers. But she has done her best for years by what, in our deplorable way of minimizing, we should call "gas," to disguise this fear from the world. She should not now be hurt that others do not credit her with an anxiety which has played no small part in precipitating this most ghastly conflict. A queer mixture of arrogance and nerves has done the job. And what a job! What a damnable job!

Confidence

By VINCENT OSWALD.

What's that, my friends? Ye tell me that the Germans in this land
Would be against us—would support the Kaiser if his hand
Tore, ruthless, at the Stars and Stripes?—the flag of those dear shores
Whose great, all-loving voice, in welcome glad, threw wide the doors
Of Opportunity to men of every clime on earth,
And cried: "Join me in Heart and Spirit and forget your birth!"

Say, friends, ye 'maze me! Know ye not that Germans who are here
Chose once for all, with crystal minds—mayhap, though, with a tear—
'Twixt Land and Life, 'twixt Bond and Free, 'twixt Might and human Right?
Why, friends, these be the grandsons of the heroes who durst fight
'Gainst tyranny within the confines of the fatherland
Itself—brave revolutionists, who then sought a freer strand;
These be the sons of men who fought the Fights of Fights—and died!—
That so our nation and those Stars and Stripes might still abide!

And think ye, friends, that men like this would fail in lesser test?
Ye know them not! They've given us themselves, their all, their best.
For weal or woe, they're one with us. My friends, in war's grim blight,
You'd find the Germans at your side, fighting, like you, for RIGHT!

France

By Rudyard Kipling

The subjoined extracts from a private letter of Mr. Kipling, written during his last visit to France, recently appeared in the British press.

* * * I thought I realized something of what was being done by France. I see now that I am only beginning to understand what France is. I can only plead in self-defense that I doubt if France herself knew twelve months ago. France is not merely fighting this war, she is living it, and living it with a gayety and a high heart that, when you get to close quarters, doesn't for a second hide the cold, deadly earnestness and tenacity of her purpose.

I have been in their towns, &c., and I can testify that they bear themselves, men and women, equally resolute—without parade or self-pity. We had tea the other day in a town which the Bosches shell daily, because it is full of women and children and has a fine old church. The cellars of the house were a hospital. But not one word around that cheery table upstairs, where not one shade of daily etiquette was missing, suggested, or even hinted at, the perpetual strain under which they live. They were French; and so long as work was to be done they worked. And they do work! As far as I can see there is not a single action of any individual from one end of France to the other which is not colored and guided and soaked through by their strong determination. * * * We shall come to this ourselves in time, but at the present moment we haven't wholly realized the way in which the French, as I have said, are living this war. We English must be made to understand this for our own sakes as well as for theirs, and the example that the French are setting us can't be rubbed in too often or too hard.

Of course, you know the state of affairs as well as any stranger can; but have you ever really conceived France as a country where there is not one single young or middle-aged man except at the post of duty assigned to him by

the military authorities, nor a woman who is not, in her own way and walk of life, engaged in duties directly connected with the war? There is no questioning about woman's action in France. No woman has any doubt of what is expected of her. None of them have time for anything except the war, and still they lose nothing of their charm and their grace. * * *

If it is hard for us to understand the French, it has been harder for the French to understand us. I don't blame 'em! For example. You remember S. talking about that hellish business of ours last April? Couldn't be got to say any more than that it was "damned unhealthy." And he is like all the rest of us. Well, what on earth are the French to make of this sort of thing which they have known now for the past year? And we are just as inarticulate as we were at the beginning. Yet there isn't much difference really between us. Our hostess at the tea party said, with a delightful smile, that, on the whole, bombardment "does not add a zest to life." It might have been S.'s own sister speaking. And it's the same with their men all along the line. But behind the laugh and the outrageous understatement of things there is the spirit that moves mountains. * * *

The readiness and endurance, and again the light heart, among their men is marvelous. They don't stop to argue about things. They are agreed that the only good Bosch is a dead Bosch, and they joyously and zealously do their best to make it so. I think their abundant health and poise (it's a vile word, but you know what I mean) and "devil" struck me most. Next to that was the state of their trenches, which are built and drained and kept as though the war was going on for the next five years.

The trenches are full, too, of useful little ideas and gadgets, which I mean to talk over with you when I come back. * * *

I had the luck to see a very rare thing in this war—the review of an army—40,000 on parade. There was no ceremonial. It was simply the passing of hard-bitten fighting men, and that made it all the more impressive. Once more, it was their radiant health and fitness that made me so happy. Also, I have watched the 75's. They, too, do not deal much in ceremony, but their work is beautiful, and the breech mechanism is a dream of simplicity and efficiency.

So, too, is the sighting. Their officers are a cheerful folk, who can work to thirty yards' clearance over their own infantry. * * *

But when all is said and done, it is the men and the women who are the wonders. I could fill a book with details of the life behind the lines and up to the lines—how would you like to graze a cow under big-shell fire?—and the patience and the fervor and terrific industry of all the land. But you must see it to believe it; and when you have seen it you must testify, as I hope to, that nothing that England can do is enough to keep abreast of such an ally.

The Unexpected

By M. E. BUHLER.

One mocked at death, for being strong
 of limb
And fearless, death no terrors had for
 him:
“From out my course I shall not move
 a jot,
Let him approach at will; I fear him
 not!”

Yet, when the conqueror whom he
 thought to meet
As man meets man, erect upon his feet,
Came creeping in long twilight shad-
 ows, he
Fell on his knees and writhed in agony.

Another, not self-confident but frail,
Feared death from his youth upward;
 e'en would quail
At every shadow which upon his path
Seemed pointing toward him in its som-
 bre wrath.

Yet, when death came, not wrapped in
 lengthened gloom
As all life long this man expected doom,
But sudden in the sunlight, not a trace
Of fear remained; he met him face to
 face.

How the United States of America Became a Nation in Arms

A Record of One-Man Rule and of Compulsory Service in Arms During the Civil War

By J. Ellis Barker

Stating that ninety-nine out of every hundred well-educated Englishmen ignore the means whereby the United States raised millions of soldiers at a time when its population was very much smaller than that of the United Kingdom at present, Mr. Barker presents in *The Nineteenth Century and After* for September the first complete story of conscription in the civil war and of President Lincoln's dictatorial part therein to serve the nation. The article is invaluable as a study showing a precedent for the British democracy during the present war and for the light it throws on the psychology of both voluntary and compulsory service in arms as applied to an intensely democratic people. Somewhat abridged, and omitting largely the documentary quotations needed for establishing his case with completeness, this article from one of Great Britain's most influential reviews appears below, with the express permission of the Leonard Scott Publication Company.

WHEN the South struck its blow for independence there certainly was confusion in Washington and throughout the States of the North. In describing the condition of the country in 1861 the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War reported: "There was treason in the Executive Mansion, treason in the Cabinet, treason in the Senate and the House of Representatives, treason in the army and navy, treason in every department, bureau, and office connected with the Government." The position of affairs was more fully described in the First Executive Order in Relation to State Prisoners, which was issued on behalf of the President by Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, on the 14th of February, 1862. He wrote:

The breaking out of a formidable insurrection, based on a conflict of political ideas, being an event without precedent in the United States, was necessarily attended by great confusion and perplexity of the public mind. Disloyalty, before unsuspected, suddenly became bold, and treason astonished the world by bringing at once into the field military forces superior in numbers to the standing army of the United States.

Every department of the Government was paralyzed by treason. Defection appeared in the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the Cabinet, in the

Federal courts; Ministers and Consuls returned from foreign countries to enter the insurrectionary councils or land or naval forces; commanding and other officers of the army and in the navy betrayed the councils or deserted their posts for commands in the insurgent forces. Treason was flagrant in the revenue and in the Post Office Service, as well as in the Territorial Governments and in the Indian reserves.

Not only Governors, Judges, legislators, and Ministerial officers in the States, but even whole States, rushed, one after another, with apparent unanimity into rebellion. The capital was besieged and its connection with all the States cut off.

Even in the portions of the country which were most loyal political combinations and secret societies were formed furthering the work of disunion, while, from motives of disloyalty or cupidity, or from excited passions or perverted sympathies, individuals were found furnishing men, money, and materials of war and supplies to the insurgents' military and naval forces. Armies, ships, fortifications, navy yards, arsenals, military posts and garrisons, one after another, were betrayed or abandoned to the insurgents.

Congress had not anticipated, and so had not provided for, the emergency. The municipal authorities were powerless and inactive. The judicial machinery seemed as if it had been designed not to sustain the Government, but to embarrass and betray it.

Foreign intervention, openly invited and industriously instigated by the abettors of the insurrection, became imminent, and has only been prevented by the practice

of strict and impartial justice with the most perfect moderation in our intercourse with nations. * * *

Extraordinary arrests will hereafter be made under the direction of the military authorities alone.

At the touch of war all the factors of national strength, the army, the navy, and the civil administration, had broken down. Consternation and confusion were general. At the head of affairs was a quaint and old-fashioned country attorney from the backwoods, possessed of a homely wit and infinite humor, ignorant of national government, surrounded by treason and besieged by a mob of clamorous office seekers who blocked the ante-rooms and the passages at the White House, sat on the stairs, and overflowed into the garden. Congress was not in session. Washington was isolated and threatened. It was questionable whether the two houses of the Legislature would be able to meet in the Federal capital. Many people in the North sympathized secretly with the South. Few officials could be trusted. The position was desperate. Everything had broken down except the Constitution. In the hour of the direst need the American Constitution proved a source of the greatest strength, and it saved the country.

The American Constitution had been planned not by politicians but by great statesmen and soldiers, by able and energetic men of action who had fought victoriously against England. They had wisely, and after mature deliberation, concentrated vast powers in the hands of the President, and had given him almost despotic powers in a time of national danger. President Lincoln unhesitatingly made use of these powers. It will appear in the course of these pages that the Southern States were defeated not so much by President Lincoln and the Northern armies as by the Fathers of the Commonwealth, who in another century had prepared for the use of the President a powerful weapon which would be ready to his hand in the hour of peril.

Believing that the United States were likely to be involved in further wars, the founders of the American Republic wished to strengthen the State by making the President powerful and independent, by

giving him almost monarchical authority in time of peace, and by making him a kind of dictator in time of war. The United States Constitution states: "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the active service of the United States." In time of danger State rights were to disappear, the military independence of the individual States was to come to an end.

Unlike the British Prime Minister, the American President is free from popular and parliamentary control. He can at any time repudiate a majority of both houses. He can veto any act of Congress, even if it is supported by large majorities, and he has frequently done so, for he is supposed to act solely in the interests of the nation and in accordance with his own conscience, without regard to party majorities and party intrigues. He can place at the head of the army and navy any man he chooses or he can command in person and no one can question his action. His Cabinet, the Secretaries of State, are nominated by him, and they are his subordinates. They are the President's, not the people's, servants. They have no seat and no voice in Congress. They are supposed to stand, like the President, outside and above party, to be servants of the nation as a whole. The Ministers, like the President, cannot be removed by a chance majority. The President and his Secretaries of State are not so constantly hampered in their actions by the fear of losing popularity and office as are British statesmen. The founders of the Commonwealth gave to the President a vast and truly royal authority because they believed that a National Executive could be efficient only if it was strong, and that it could be strong only if it was independent of party ties and intrusted to a single man.

Hamilton, Jay, Gouverneur Morris, John Adams, and other leading men of the time were so much in favor of a strong Executive that they advocated that American Presidents, like British Judges, should be appointed for life and should be removable only by impeachment.

The doctrine that a Government, to be

efficient, requires not many heads but a single head, that a one-man Government, a strong Government, is valuable at all times, and especially in time of national danger, was more fully developed by Hamilton in the seventieth letter of *The Federalist*.

Great Britain is ruled by a Cabinet, by a number of men who are nominally equal, and the Prime Minister is their President, he is *primus inter pares*. The British Cabinet Ministers take resolutions collectively and they act, at least in theory, with unanimity. As they act unanimously, there is no individual, but only collective, responsibility for Cabinet decisions. At the present moment twenty-two Cabinet Ministers are collectively responsible for every important decision, even if the decision requires high expert knowledge which few, if any, of them possess, or if it concerns only a single department—such as the army or navy—with which twenty Ministers out of twenty-two in the Cabinet may be quite unacquainted. An anonymous author wrote some years ago of the British Cabinet that it had many heads but no head, many minds but no mind. Government by a crowd is a danger in war time. Hamilton clearly foresaw the weakness and danger of governing by means of a committee of politicians, especially in time of war.

War is a one-man business. To the founders of the American Republic it seemed so essential and so self-evident that only a single hand could direct the army and navy efficiently and "with decision, activity, secrecy, and dispatch" that they thought that the paragraph of the Constitution which made the President Commander in Chief of both services was unchallengeable and required neither explanation nor defense. That paragraph is curtly dismissed by Hamilton in the seventy-fourth letter of *The Federalist*, as follows:

The President of the United States is to be "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States." The propriety of this provision is so evident in itself, and it is, at the same time, so consonant to the precedents of the State Constitutions in general, that little

need be said to explain or enforce it. Even those of them which have in other respects coupled the Chief Magistrate with a council have for the most part concentrated the military authority in him alone.

Of all the cares or concerns of government, the direction of war most peculiarly demands those qualities which distinguish the exercise of power by a single hand. The direction of war implies the direction of the common strength, and the power of directing and employing the common strength forms a usual and essential part in the definition of the executive authority.

At the outbreak of the civil war, when all the factors supporting the Government's authority had broken down, President Lincoln fell back on the Constitution. He rather relied on its spirit as it appears in *The Federalist* than on its wording, and he did not hesitate to strain his powers to the utmost in order to save the State. On the 15th of April, immediately after the bombardment and fall of Fort Sumter, he called upon the Governors of the individual States to raise 75,000 men of State militia, in proportion to their inhabitants, and to place them in the service of the United States and under his command. These 75,000 men were called upon to serve only for three months, not because the President or his Cabinet believed that the war would last only ninety days, but because, according to the act of 1795, the President had authority which permitted "the use of the militia so as to be called forth only for thirty days after the commencement of the then next session of Congress." A musty law circumscribed and hampered the President's action, but it did not hamper it for long. Very soon it became evident that that preliminary measure was totally insufficient, that energy and novel measures were required to overcome the dangers which threatened the Northern States from without and from within. Relying on the spirit of the Constitution and on his duty to defend the Union at all costs, President Lincoln, to his eternal honor, did not hesitate to make illegal, but not unscrupulous, use of dictatorial powers. On the 27th of April he directed General Scott to suspend the privilege of *habeas corpus*, if necessary, in order to be able to deal with treason and with opposition

in the Northern States. On the 3d of May he decreed by proclamation that the regular army should be increased by 22,714, or should be more than doubled, and that 18,000 seamen should be added to the navy. At the same time he called for forty regiments, composed of 42,034 volunteers, to serve during three years.

At the beginning of the war the Northern States were almost unarmed. The Government had completely neglected the army and navy. In the country was only a scanty supply of arms and ammunition. Under Buchanan's Presidency an incapable, if not a treacherous, Secretary of War, who later on joined the Southern forces, had allowed large numbers of arms to be removed from arsenals in the North to arsenals in the Southern States, where they were seized by the Secessionists. For the supply of muskets the Government depended chiefly on the Springfield Armory and upon that at Harper's Ferry. The capacity of the private manufacturers was only a few thousand muskets a year, and after the destruction of the arsenal and armory at Harper's Ferry, on the 19th of April, 1861, which contained 15,000 muskets, and which otherwise might have fallen into the hands of the Confederates, the resources of the Government were seriously diminished. The want of arms limited the call of the President on the 15th of April to 75,000 men, and many regiments were detained for a long time in their camps in the different States until muskets could be imported from Europe. Orders for weapons were hastily sent abroad, and many inferior arms were imported at high prices. The Springfield Armory, the capacity of which was only about 25,000 muskets per year, was rapidly enlarged, and its production, assisted by outside machine shops, was brought up to about 8,000 muskets per month at the end of 1861 and to about 15,000 per month shortly afterward. The United States had to pay for their neglect of military preparations in the past. Everything had laboriously to be created. Meanwhile confusion was general. The army which had been collected was merely a mob of ill-armed men. During 1861 the State of Indiana,

for instance, had raised and sent into the field, in round numbers, 60,000 men, of whom 53,500 were infantry. The following statement, taken from Appleton's Annual Cyclopedias, shows what arms they received during the year:

Muskets and Rifles.	
Prussian muskets.....	4,006
United States rifles.....	5,290
Padrei rifles.....	5,000
Belgian rifles.....	957
New percussion muskets.....	7,299
Altered percussion muskets.....	8,800
Long-range rifles.....	600
Springfield rifles.....	1,830
Short Enfields.....	960
Long Enfields.....	13,898
Saxony rifles.....	1,000
Austrian rifles, .54 calibre.....	3,822
Mississippi rifles, .54 calibre.....	362

In their need, anything that had a barrel was used to arm the troops. The Southern States even fell back upon shot-guns and ancient fowling pieces. Gradually order was evolved out of chaos. The inborn energy and talent for organization of the race asserted themselves. The North was far superior to the South in population, wealth, machinery, and appliances of every kind. In the course of time, a large, well-organized, and well-equipped army arose.

At the beginning of 1862 the Southern States were threatened with invasion by large armies. A great forward movement of the Northern forces was ordered to begin on the 22d of February, and rapid progress was being made. Forts Henry and Donelson were rapidly captured from the rebels, Bowling Green and Columbus had to be evacuated, and Nashville surrendered. The entire line of defense formed by the Southern States toward the west was swept away, and a march by the Northern troops into the heart of the Southwestern States seemed imminent. Consternation seized upon the Southern people. The Southern Army of 1861 was composed chiefly of volunteers who had enlisted for twelve months. The voluntary system had yielded all it could yield. It became clear that the Southern States could not successfully be defended by volunteers against the North, that national and compulsory service was needed. The Southern Government was aroused to action, and without hesitation

President Jefferson Davis sent a message to the Confederate Congress in which he laid down that it was the duty of all citizens to defend the State and in which he demanded the introduction of conscription for all men between 18 and 35 years.

He demanded not only conscription but practically the total surrender of State rights. He wished the confederation of Southern States to fight like a single State, recognizing that concentration increases strength. A conscription act was rapidly passed on the 16th of April, 1862.

As conscription for all men from 18 to 35 years did not suffice to fill the depleted ranks of the Southern Army, it was made more rigorous. An order by Brig. Gen. John H. Winder, dated the 1st of August, 1862, stated:

The obtaining of substitutes through the medium of agents is strictly forbidden. When such agents are employed, the principal, the substitute, and the agent will be impressed into the military service, and the money paid for the substitute, and as a reward to the agent, will be confiscated to the Government. The offender will also be subjected to such other imprisonment as may be imposed by a court-martial.

As desertion from the ranks had weakened the Southern Army, the press appealed to the citizens of the South to assist in the apprehension of deserters and stragglers. All men and women in the country were exhorted to "pursue, shame, and drive back to the ranks those who have deserted their colors and their comrades and turned their backs upon their country's service." Still further exertions were required to prevent the Northern troops invading the Southern States in force. Hence, in September, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed another act of conscription, which called out for military service all men between the ages of 35 and 45.

Years of fighting reduced the ranks of the Southern armies. They could hold their own against the overwhelming numbers of the North only by extending the age limit of compulsory military service still further, by making conscription still more rigorous. In February, 1864, a general military act was passed which en-

rolled all white men from 17 to 50 years in the army.

The American civil war had begun in April, 1861. At its commencement the people in the North had believed that, owing to their overwhelming superiority in numbers, in wealth, and in resources of every kind, they would be able to subdue the insurgent States by armies raised on the voluntary principle within a reasonable time. However, the war dragged on interminably. Enthusiasm for volunteering diminished, men became cool and indifferent. Owing to the reduced number of workers, wages rose very greatly throughout the Union and men turned rather to the factory than to the army. Week by week the expenditure in blood and treasure increased. At last the people in the North began to see the necessity of abandoning the voluntary system and of imitating the Southern States by introducing compulsory service. It will be of interest to see the way in which public opinion veered around. In his report of the 17th of March, 1866, the Provost Marshal General, James B. Fry, the head of the great recruiting department of the Northern armies, described this change in opinion under the heading "Public Recognition of the Necessity of a General Conscription," as follows:

During the latter part of 1862 the necessity for a radical change in the method of raising troops in order to prosecute the war to a successful issue became more and more apparent. The demand for reinforcements from the various armies in the field steadily and largely exceeded the current supply of men. The old agencies for filling the ranks proved more and more ineffective. It was evident that the efforts of the Government for the suppression of the rebellion would fail without resort to the unpopular, but nevertheless truly republican, measure of conscription. The national authorities, no less than the purest and wisest minds in Congress, and intelligent and patriotic citizens throughout the country, perceived that, besides a more reliable, regular, and abundant supply of men, other substantial benefits would be derived from the adoption and enforcement of the principle that every citizen, not incapacitated by physical or mental disability, owes military service to the country in the hour of extremity. It would effectually do away with the unjust and burdensome dispro-

portion in the number of men furnished by different States and localities.

But it was not easy to convince the public mind at once of the justice and wisdom of conscription. It was a novelty, contrary to the traditional military policy of the nation. The people had become more accustomed to the enjoyment of privileges than to the fulfillment of duties under the General Government, and hence beheld the prospect of compulsory service in the army with an unreasonable dread. Among the laboring classes especially it produced great uneasiness. Fortunately the loyal political leaders and press early realized the urgency of conscription, and by judicious agitation gradually reconciled the public to it. When the enrollment act was introduced in Congress in the following Winter the patriotic people of the North were willing to see it become a law.

Early in 1863 the bill introducing conscription was placed before Congress at Washington, and was discussed by both houses. The debates were brief and the speeches delivered are most interesting and enlightening at the present moment, when the principle of conscription is hotly discussed, not only in Great Britain but throughout the British Empire. Let us listen to the principal arguments in favor of conscription.

Mr. Dunn, Representative of Indiana, urged the necessity of conscription in the following words:

The necessity is upon us to pass a bill of this character. We have many regiments in the field greatly reduced in numbers. * * * It is due to the gallant men remaining in these regiments that their numbers should be promptly filled up. This cannot be done by voluntary enlistment on account of the influence of just such speeches as are made here and elsewhere denouncing the war; many make a clamor against the war as an excuse for not volunteering. Moreover, a draft is the cheapest, fairest, and best mode of raising troops. It is to be regretted this mode was not adopted at first. Then all would have shared alike in the perils and glories of the war. Every family would have been represented in the field, and every soldier would have had sympathy and support from his friends at home. The passage of this bill will give evidence to the rebels that the nation is summoning all its energies to the conflict, and it will be proof to foreign nations that we are prepared to meet promptly any intermeddling in our domestic strife. The Government has a right in war to command the services of its citizens, whom it protects in war as well as in peace. We, as legislators, must not

shrink from the discharge of our high responsibility.

Mr. Thomas, Representative of Massachusetts, stated:

For the last six or nine months a whole party—a strong party—has deliberately entered into a combination to discourage, to prevent, and as far as in it lay to prohibit, the volunteering of the people of the country as soldiers in our army. Members of that party have gone from house to house, from town to town, and from city to city urging their brethren not to enlist in the armies of the nation, and giving them all sorts of reasons for that advice. * * *

Mr. Speaker, this is a terrible bill; terrible in the powers it confers upon the Executive, terrible in the duty and burden it imposes upon the citizen. I meet the suggestion by one as obvious and cogent, and that is that the exigency is a terrible one and calls for all the powers with which the Government is invested.

The powers of Congress, within the scope of the Constitution, are supreme and strike directly to the subject and hold him in its firm, its iron grasp. I repeat what at an early day I asserted upon this floor, that there is not a human being within the territory of the United States, black or white, bond or free, whom this Government is not capable of taking in its right hand and using for its military service whenever the defense of the country requires, and of this Congress alone must judge. The question of use is a question of policy only. * * * It is, in effect, a question to this nation of life or death. We literally have no choice.

The views given fairly sum up the opinion held by the majority of the American people in the North and by that of their representatives at Washington, who passed the Conscription act without undue delay against a rather substantial minority.

In each district a Provost Marshal, acting under the Provost Marshal General, an examining surgeon, and a Commissioner constituted the Board of Enrollment. The enrolling officers were directed to enroll all able-bodied persons within the prescribed ages and to judge of age by the best evidence they could obtain. They were required to make two classes in their returns, the first of all men between 20 and 35 years and the second of all between 35 and 45 years. If we wish to learn how the conscription act worked in the unruly North, where an enormous percentage of the population liable to military service consisted of

immigrant foreigners who often were ill-acquainted with the English language, we should turn to the report which the Provost Marshal General made to the Secretary of War on the 17th of March, 1866. We read:

When the bureau was put in operation the strength of the army was deemed inadequate for offensive operations. Nearly 400,000 recruits were required to bring the regiments and companies then in service up to the legal and necessary standard. Disaster had been succeeded by inactivity, and the safety of the country depended on speedy and continued reinforcement of the army. The insufficiency of the system of recruitment previously pursued had been demonstrated, and the army was diminishing by the ordinary casualties of war, but more rapidly by the expiration of the terms for which the troops had engaged to serve. To meet the emergency a new system of recruitment was inaugurated. The General Government, through this bureau, assumed direct control of the business which had heretofore been transacted mainly by the State Governments. * * *

The following is a condensed summary of the results of the operations of this bureau from its organization to the close of the war:

(1) By means of a full and exact enrollment of all persons liable to conscription under the law of March 3, and its amendments, a complete exhibit of the military resources of the loyal States in men was made, showing an aggregate number of 2,254,063 men, not including 1,000,516 soldiers actually under arms when hostilities ceased.

(2) 1,120,621 men were raised at an average cost (on account of recruitment exclusive of bounties) of \$9.84 per man; while the cost of recruiting the 1,356,593 raised prior to the organization of the bureau was \$34.01 per man. A saving of over 70 cents on the dollar in the cost of raising troops was thus effected under this bureau, notwithstanding the increase in the price of subsistence, transportation, rents, &c., during the last two years of the war.

(3) 76,526 deserters were arrested and returned to the army.

The vigilance and energy of the officers of the bureau in this branch of business put an effectual check to the widespread evil of desertion, which at one time impeded so seriously the numerical strength and efficiency of the army.

(4) The quotas of men furnished by the various parts of the country were equalized and a proportionate share of military service secured from each, thus removing the very serious inequality of recruitment which had arisen during the first two years of the war, and which, when the

bureau was organized, had become an almost insuperable obstacle to further progress in raising troops. * * *

The introduction of compulsion acted as a powerful stimulus to voluntary enlistment throughout the Union,* and, in consequence of this revival of voluntary enlistment, the number of men compulsorily enlisted was not as great as it might have been, especially as the compulsory system was not exploited to the full. Only a comparatively moderate number of those who by law were declared to be liable for military service were called upon to join the army. On the other hand, the moral effect of the passing of the conscription act was very far-reaching and salutary.

The conscription act of 1863 was a most beneficial measure, but it had several grave defects. It failed to place upon the men liable for military service the duty of coming forward without delay. Hence the Government had to search them out.

Enrolled men whose names had been drawn from the wheel for service and who failed to obey the call were liable to the extreme penalty.

Deserters were proceeded against with great energy. Death sentences for desertion were not infrequent, but in many cases they were commuted. Still, from the table given later on, it appears that 261 soldiers of the Northern Army were executed. Among these were a good many deserters.

The Union Government had made the unfortunate mistake of allowing men who had been enrolled as liable for military duty and who had afterward been "drafted" for service to escape their duties by the undemocratic expedient of finding a substitute or of paying \$300. That provision was naturally much resented by the poorer classes, and especially by alien immigrants in the large towns. The opposition made the utmost use of its opportunity, denounced the Government, and incited the masses to resistance. The Provost Marshal General's report tells us that the people were incited against the Government "by the

*This was due to the fact that the individual States vied with one another to fill their quota so as to make compulsion unnecessary.

machinations of a few disloyal political leaders, aided by the treasonable utterances of corrupt and profligate newspapers * * * by a steady stream of political poison and arrant treason." While the Government was obeyed in the country, these incitements led to sanguinary riots among the worst alien elements in several towns, especially in New York, Boston, and Troy. A large part of New York was, during several days, devastated by the mob, and the suppression of the rising cost more than 1,000 lives. When order had been re-established, Mr. Horatio Seymour, the Governor of New York, expressed doubt whether conscription was constitutionally permissible, and asked President Lincoln to obtain a judicial decision on that point. The President replied on the 7th of August:

* * * We are contending with an enemy who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used.

This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be matched on our side, if we first waste time to re-experiment with the voluntary system, already deemed by Congress, and palpably in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time to obtain a court decision as to whether the law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go.

My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged—of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.

Shortly afterward conscription was enforced throughout New York with the energetic assistance of Governor Seymour, who clearly recognized the pertinence of the President's arguments.

Let us now consider the principal facts and figures relating to the civil war.

It began on the 12th of April, 1861, with the bombardment of Fort Sumter;

it ended on the 9th of April, 1865, with the surrender of General Lee and his army to General Grant at Appomattox Court House. Except for three days, the war lasted exactly four years. The history of the civil war is at the same time inspiring and humiliating. It is inspiring because of the patriotism, the heroism, the ability, and the resourcefulness which were displayed by both combatants. Both showed that it was possible to improvise huge and powerful armies. It is deeply humiliating because the civil war is a gigantic monument of democratic improvidence and of unreadiness, of governmental short-sightedness and of criminal waste, of bungling, and of mudle. The North possessed so overwhelming a superiority in population and in resources of every kind, and had had so ample a warning of the threatening danger long before the trouble began, that the war would probably never have broken out had the Northern statesmen exercised in time some ordinary foresight and caution, as they easily might have done and as they ought to have done. If some precautions had been taken and if, nevertheless, the Southern States had revolted, their subjection might have been effected within a few months at a comparatively trifling expenditure of blood and treasure. How crushing the numerical superiority of the North was over the South will be seen from the census figures of 1860, which supply the following picture:

American Population in 1860.	
Population of Northern and Western States.....	22,339,978
White population of Southern States.....	5,449,463
Colored population of Southern States.....	3,653,880 9,103,343
Total	31,443,321

If we compare the total population of the antagonists, it appears that the North had twenty-five inhabitants to every ten in the South, both white and colored. However, as the Southern negroes did not furnish soldiers during the war, we must deduct their number. Thus we find that for every ten possible combatants in the South there were no fewer than forty in the North. In 1860 the

Northern States had two and a half times as many inhabitants and four times as many men able to bear arms as had the Southern States. In addition, the Northern States possessed infinitely greater wealth and infinitely greater resources of every kind than did their opponents.

From the official statistics available it appears that the wealth of the Union was in 1860 about fifteen times as great as that of the Southern States, which were merely producers of food and raw materials. In the course of the war the economic supremacy of the North increased very greatly, for while the manufacturing power of the Northern States expanded rapidly, the economic position of the Southern States deteriorated continually. Northern warships blockaded the coast of the South, and the Southerners could neither sell their staple products—especially cotton and tobacco—nor import the machines, weapons, and manufactures of every kind which they needed. While the North was self-supporting and could freely import from abroad all it required, the South was thrown on its own resources, and before long the people lacked even the most essential things. Hence their sufferings were terrible, while the people in the North lived in relative comfort and affluence.

The people, both in the South and in the North, made a most gigantic military effort. The Secretary of War laid before Congress information from which it appeared that the Northern States furnished altogether the gigantic number of 2,653,062 soldiers. If this colossal aggregate is reduced to a three years' standard they furnished no less than 2,129,041 men. If we compare this figure with the total population of the Northern States given above we find that the North sent to the army 10 per cent. of the total population. The official figures relating to the military effort of the South are incomplete and not reliable. Estimates vary. However, when we draw the average of the various estimates it appears that the Southern States furnished to the army about 1,000,000 men, or approximately 20 per cent. of the white population.

The war entailed colossal losses in men

and money. According to the accounts furnished in the Official Record, the war losses of the Northern Army were as follows:

Losses of Northern Army.			
Volunteers.	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Killed in action.....	4,057	61,654	65,711
Of wounds received			
in action.....	2,164	39,912	42,076
Of disease.....	2,688	218,806	221,494
Accidental (except			
drowned)	141	3,869	4,010
Drowned	102	4,749	4,851
Murdered	36	468	504
Killed after capture..	14	89	103
Suicide	24	340	364
Executed by U. S.			
military authorities.	..	261	261
Executed by enemy..	4	60	64
Sunstroke	5	301	306
Other known causes.	61	1,910	1,971
Causes not stated....	28	11,987	12,015
Aggregate	9,324	344,406	353,730
Losses of Northern			
regular army.....	260	5,538	5,798

Grand aggregate —			
regulars and volunteers	9,584	349,944	359,528

These figures are considered by many authorities to be an understatement. Some estimate that the Northern States lost approximately 500,000 lives through the war. Through death, the Northern armies lost about 20 per cent. of their men, and the losses come to about 2 per cent. of the whole population. The war losses of the Southern States were approximately as great as those of the North. Apparently about one-half of the Southern Army died, and the deaths caused by the war equal almost 10 per cent. of the white population of the South. Altogether, the American States combined lost between 700,000 and 1,000,000 lives in four years' warfare.

The economic losses caused by the war were enormous. Estimates vary, but the most reliable one gives the figure of \$10,000,000,000, or £2,000,000,000. The war bill of the United States continues mounting up through the payment of pensions which entail at present an expenditure of about £30,000,000 a year. The civil war crippled the North financially for many years, but it ruined the South. Between 1860 and 1870 the taxable wealth of Virginia decreased from \$793,249,681 to \$327,670,603; that of

South Carolina from \$548,138,754 to \$166,517,591; that of Georgia from \$645,895,237 to \$214,535,366, &c.

Let us now consider the principal lessons of the civil war:

If the American statesmen had exercised merely reasonable caution and foresight the war would probably never have occurred. The principal towns of the South lie near the sea border, in spacious bays or up-river. They were protected against an attack from the sea by strong forts. By adequately garrisoning these forts in time, as General Scott, the head of the army, had advised President Buchanan, the American Government could have dominated the rebellious towns, and could have cut their connection with the sea as had been done with the best success at the time of the nullification troubles of 1832. Unfortunately, President Buchanan paid no attention to the views of his military experts.

Washington said in his fifth annual address: "If we desire to avoid insult we must be able to repel it. If we desire to secure peace, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war." He and many of the founders of the Republic had pointed out in *The Federalist* and elsewhere that it was dangerous for the country to rely merely on an untrained militia, and had urged the necessity of maintaining an adequate standing army. Unfortunately their warnings were not heeded by the short-sighted and unscrupulous politicians. Had the United States possessed a small standing army ready for war, the Southern States would scarcely have dared to rise, and had they done so their power could easily have been broken. In the opinion of many American military experts a standing army of 50,000 men would have sufficed to end the war in a few months. The disregard of the views of the military experts, and the criminal levity and recklessness of self-seeking politicians cost the United States approximately a million lives and £2,000,000,000. They paid dearly for their previous improvidence and their neglect of military preparations.

When the bombardment of Fort Sumter began, when the army, navy, and the

whole administrative and judicial apparatus broke down, the dissolution of the great Republic seemed inevitable. The Union was saved by a man of sterling character but of merely moderate ability, by a great citizen but scarcely a statesman of the very first rank. Abraham Lincoln was animated by an unwavering faith in the Union and in the righteousness of its cause. Undismayed by disaster, he rallied the waverers, encouraged the downhearted, and created harmony among the quarreling parties. When matters seemed desperate, he mobilized the country, raised a huge army, and saved the State by his exertions. Had a Buchanan or a Johnson been in power the Union would undoubtedly have been lost. He did not hesitate to exceed his constitutional powers and to act as a dictator when the fate of his country was at stake. In Lord Bryce's words: "Abraham Lincoln wielded more authority than any single Englishman has done since Oliver Cromwell." One-man rule undoubtedly saved the United States.

The British Constitution is unwritten, is fluid, is adaptable to the necessities of the moment. It has been created by gradual evolution, and it lends itself easily to the creation of a one-man Government for the duration of the war. The Prime Minister need only be made solely responsible for the conduct of the Government in all its branches during the war. By thus increasing the power of the Prime Minister, the Cabinet Ministers would be made responsible merely for their departments. They would be responsible to the Prime Minister and he to Parliament. Cabinet Ministers could therefore devote themselves practically entirely to their administrative duties. They would become the Prime Minister's subordinates. He would assume sole responsibility for important decisions. He would consult the Cabinet Ministers, but could no longer be hampered in his action by the opposition of one or several of his colleagues. The direction of affairs would no longer be in the hands of an unwieldy body, such as could not successfully direct any business. The State would possess a managing director, as does every business, and thus foresight,

unity, energy, dispatch, and secrecy in action might be secured.

Many Englishmen extol the voluntary system and oppose compulsory service because in their opinion compulsion, conscription, is undemocratic. Most of these are quite unaware that the greatest, the freest, and the most unruly democracy in the world gladly submitted to conscription half a century ago, and appear to forget that France and Switzerland recognize that the first duty of the citizen consists in defending his country. If the United States found conscription necessary to prevent the Southern States breaking away and forming a Government of their own, how much more necessary is the abandonment of the voluntary system when not merely the integrity but the existence of Great Britain and of the empire is at stake!

While the Southern States armed their whole able-bodied population at an early date, the Northern States were late in introducing conscription. Besides, conscription was with them only a half measure, as has been shown. They introduced it only on the 3d of March, 1863, two years after the outbreak of the war, and as they failed to arm all available men the war dragged on for two whole years after conscription had been introduced. The fourfold superiority in able-bodied men and the fifteenfold superiority in wealth would undoubtedly have given to the Northern States a rapid and complete victory had they acted with their entire national strength at the outset.

The United Kingdom and the British Empire have made enormous efforts, but greater ones will be needed. The United States have provided this country with a great and inspiring precedent. The Northern States placed 10 per cent. and

the Southern States 20 per cent. of their entire population in the field. If Great Britain should follow the example of the Northern States she alone would be able to raise 4,500,000 men. If she should follow the example of the South she should be able to provide 9,000,000 soldiers. The British losses during the first year of war have been appalling, but they are small if compared with those incurred by the Americans in the civil war. If Great Britain should lose men at the same rate as the Northern States her dead would number about 1,000,000. At the proportion of the Southern States her dead would number about 4,000,000. Great Britain and her daughter States have an opportunity of demonstrating to the world that they have as much energy, resourcefulness, patriotism, and vitality as the men who laid down their lives in the terrible campaign of 1861-5. If the United States were ready to make the greatest sacrifices for preserving their Union, the United Kingdom and the Dominions should be willing to make sacrifices at least as great for the sake of their existence.

At the dedication of the Soldiers' Cemetery in 1863, Abraham Lincoln pronounced the following immortal words:

It is for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

These words are known by heart by every American schoolboy. They may well serve as a memento and as a motto to Englishmen of the present generation and inspire them in the heavy task which lies before them.

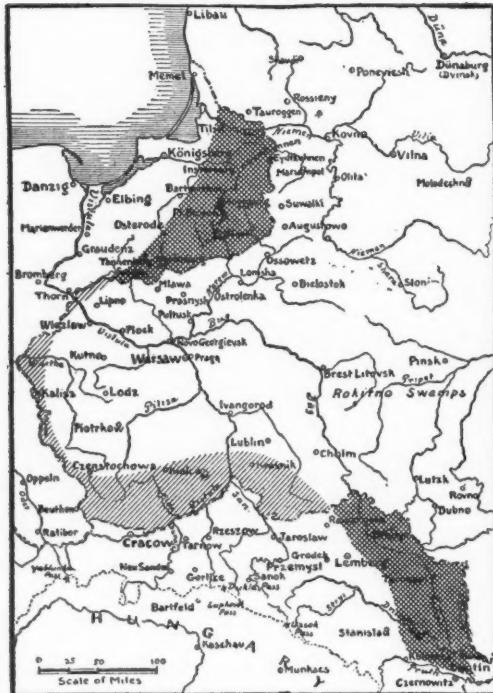


"Facts from the
Frankfurter Zeitung"
"One Year of War"

"Territory Occupied on the Eastern Front"

The Territory Occupied by Central Powers. (Light Shading)
 The Territory Occupied by Russians. (Dark Shading)

Middle of August, 1914



First of August, 1915



"Cost of the War"

**"Cost of the First
 Year of the War to England"**



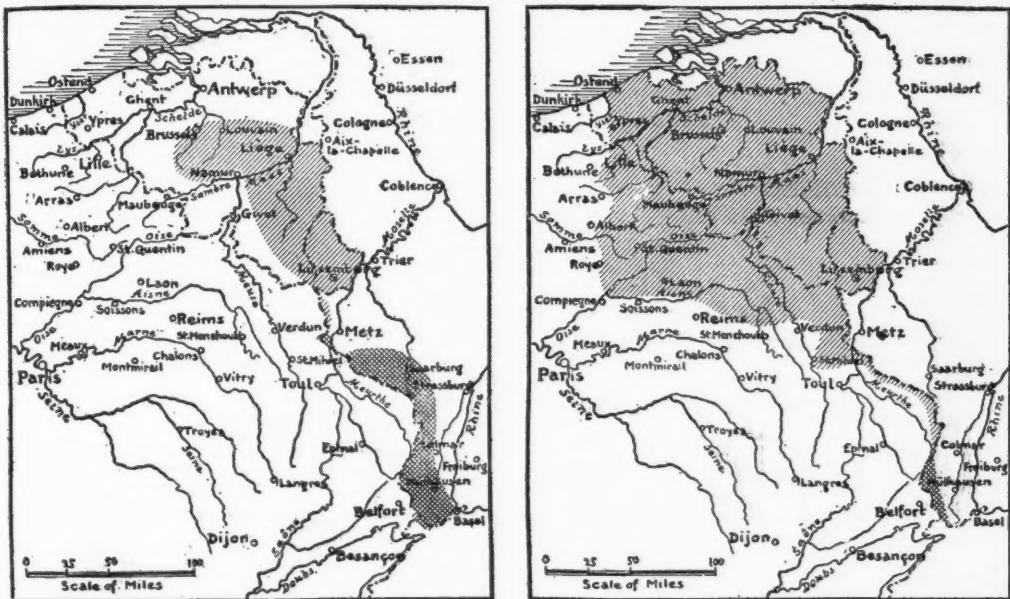
**"The Savings of
 English Industry
 in a Year of Peace"**



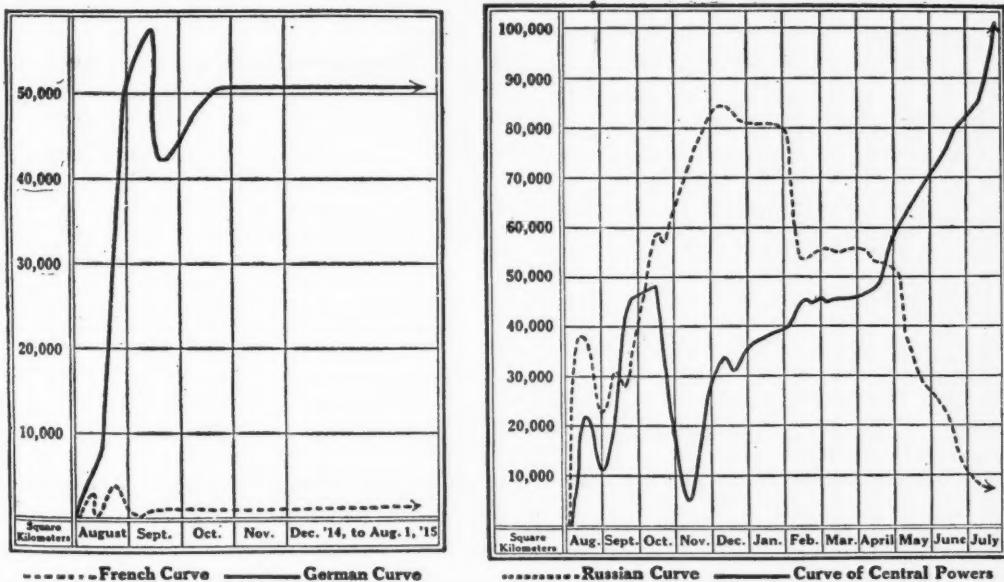
[Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts]

"Territory Occupied on Western Front"

Aug., 1914 Enemy's Territory Occupied by Germany. (Light Shading)
 Enemy's Territory Occupied by Allies. (Dark Shading) Aug., 1915



"Possession of Conquered Territory From Month to Month"



----- French Curve — German Curve
 Russian Curve - - - - - Curve of Central Powers
 "The first chart displays the varying fortunes on the Western front, the second chart those on the Eastern front. It will be noted that after the first two and one-half months of war, the positions on the Western front remained stationary. On the Eastern front, however, the Russians at first made large gains which later were entirely wiped out and reversed by German successes."

[Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts]

"Changes in the Gold Reserves of the Central Banks"

From July 15, 1914, to July 15, 1915, in Marks

Germany

Increase 1049 Mill.

England

Increase 266 Mill.

Italy

Decrease 4½ Mill.

France

Decrease 85 Mill.

Russia

Decrease 135 Mill.

"Comparisons Between English

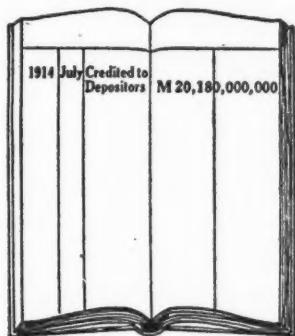
Germany	July 15, 1915
Imperial Bank Notes	<i>M</i> 5415 Mill.
Currency Notes	" 240 "
Public Deposits	" 751 "
Other Deposits	" 1852 "
Total	<i>M</i> 8258 Mill.
Gold Reserve	" 2392 "
Proportion of reserves to liabilities . . .	28.94%

[Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts]

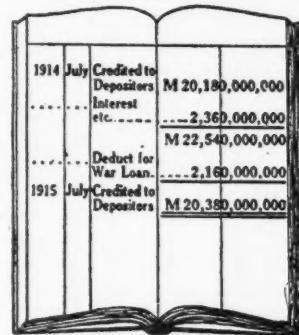
"Savings Deposits of the German People"

The Savings Capacity of the German People Before and During the Year of the War

Before the War



"Shortly before the war, German savings had passed the proud sum of twenty thousand million marks. Although the depositors had, in the meantime, subscribed more than two thousand millions of war loans, at the end of the first year the deposits showed an increase of more than two hundred millions."



"and German Money Standards"

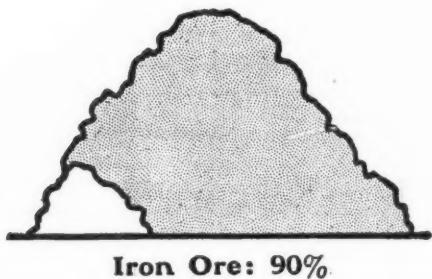
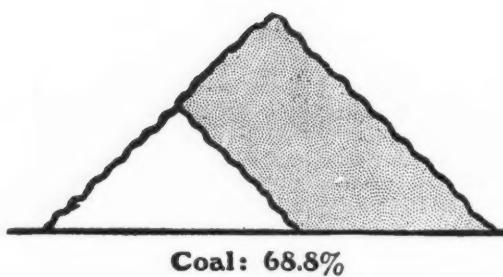
England	July 15, 1915
Bank Notes	£ 34.5 Mill.
Currency Notes	" 49.3 "
Public Deposits	" 53.0 "
Other Deposits	" 146.7* "
Total	£ 283.5 Mill.
Gold Reserve	" 53.1 "
Currency Notes Reserve	" 28.5 "
Total Gold Reserve	£ 81.6 Mill.
Proportion of reserves to liabilities . . .	28.79%

* £ 158.0 Mill., deducting 11.3 Mill. on behalf of Currency Notes Redemption Accounts of the Bank of England.

[Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts]

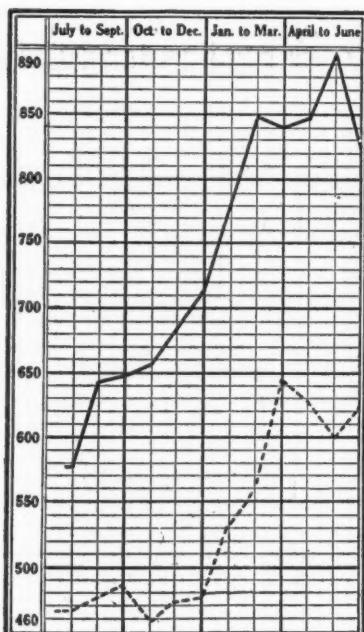
“Industrial Col

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“Increased Cost of Living in England”

— Grains and Meat
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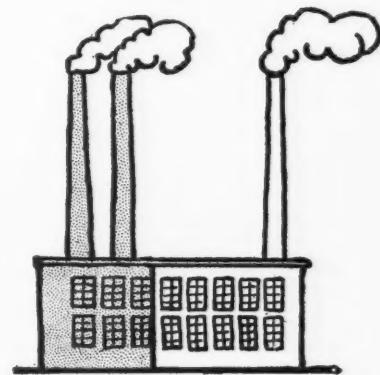
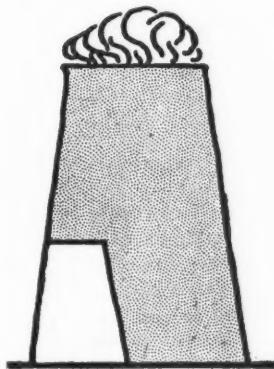


“The curved lines on the left show the increased cost brought about by the war in two of the most important commodities on the English market, grains and meats, as well as the products of the mines. The basis for these calculations is to be found in the London Economist. This publication calculates the average prices of the more important commodities, based on the average prices from 1901 to 1915; this average for grain and meats shows an index figure of 500, and for products of the mines 400. The deviation from these figures since the beginning of the war are indicated on the chart.”

[Frankfurter Zeitung's Charts]

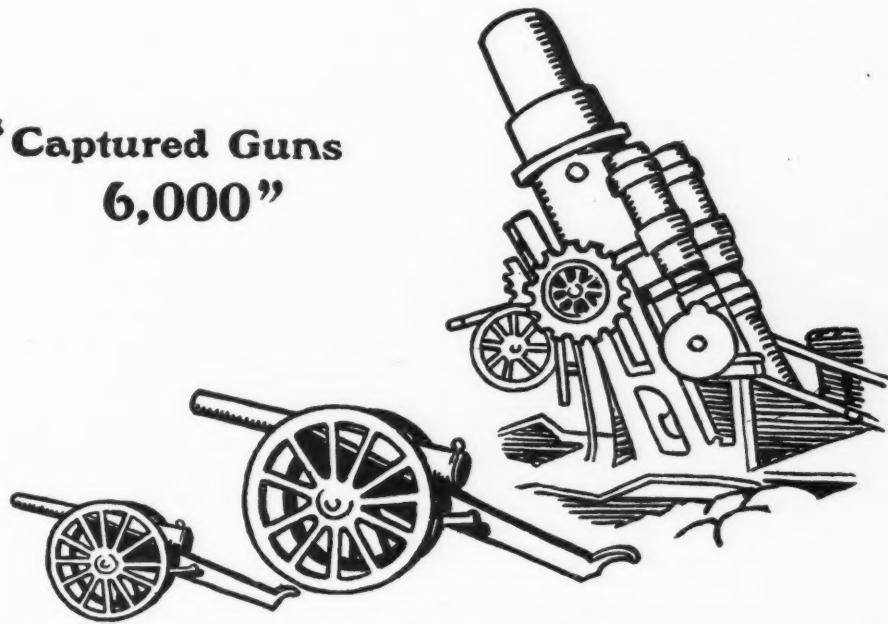
lapse of France"

cupied by Germans or included in the war zone"



Pig Iron: 85.7% Textile Industry: 68.7% Total Industry: 43%

**"Captured Guns
6,000"**



Impeachment of German-Americans

By Professor Hugo Muensterberg
of Harvard University

THIS is not written in my own defense. Whenever during this year of displeasure Germanophobic voices have thundered against me the crushing question, Are you an American or merely a German-American? I have answered every time with a clear conscience: Neither. I am a German and have never intended to be anything else.

I did not leave Germany because I liked it less. I was professor at a German university when Harvard invited me to develop here the interest for experimental psychology. I accepted the invitation at first for a short time only, and under the condition that I might stay here as citizen of my Fatherland. Later, when many a European summons called me back, I resisted every temptation and stayed on not only because the American scholars urged me to continue, but chiefly because I had become fascinated by the hope to help toward international amity.

I have always proclaimed—the history of the war has proved the complete truth of this conviction—that not the practical interests but feelings and emotions control the political events. The feelings between nations depend upon their mutual understanding. The harmony between Germany, England, and the United States at which I aimed could thus best be furthered if I helped to interpret the German ideals to the English-speaking lands and the Anglo-Saxon ideals to Germany. I might have continued my psychological researches in Germany as well as here, but for this task as interpreter I had to stay in America.

For more than twenty years I have toiled for this peaceful end. I feel that I succeeded at least in retouching the absurd picture of the American which alone was familiar to the Europeans, and all my efforts over there crystallized in the Amerika-Institut, which I organized in Berlin. It was only the natural counter-

part that when, during the last year, American sentiment rushed into the anti-German camp, I remained loyal to my aim of interpreting the other side. I did not attack the enemies of Germany, but tried to show that Germany was not to be blamed either, that every country fulfilled its historic duty.

This was, of course, resented by those who denounce the Germans as culprits, and I have been blamed for my belief in German virtue just as I had been often attacked in Europe on account of my incessant preaching that the Americans are not materialists but at bottom idealists. All this, however, had not the least to do with actual politics. I never have participated in a political action of the German-Americans, I never have signed a motion. I knew that I was an invited guest with the duties of a guest, even if the host sometimes forgot the guest's privileges.

But just because I stand entirely outside of German-American politics, I may be permitted to testify on the witness stand in the solemn trial which the whole nation has opened in these Summer days against those millions of American citizens who emphasize their German descent. The first indictments referred only to the zeal with which they worked against anti-German agitation. The gross offense of which they were accused was that of German propaganda when in a neutral land they resisted the effort to tarnish and stain the land of their parents and grandparents.

But the charge has become much more serious since large meetings in the big cities, assemblies and congresses with resolutions, have indicated that under the whip of the war the Teutonic masses have decided to strengthen their front, and to insist on a forceful influence upon the national life of the country. This was a much more dangerous crime than the mere propaganda for the German bel-

ligerents. This was the forming of an alien party on American soil, of a State within the State, of an anti-American army. This must have results which reach far beyond the time of the war. It is a crime against the spirit of true Americanism. Is it surprising that the indignation has risen to a high pitch and that men who were born on German soil have become alarmed, uncertain whether this movement of the German-Americans may not contradict their oath to the great Republic?

But the case is too grave to be dismissed with the haste of a Georgia jury. What are the real issues and what are the facts? Perhaps no arraignment has been more vehement than that which Oswald Garrison Villard, himself born of a German father in Germany, made in a forceful address delivered at Stockbridge. With flaming words he denounces the political traits of the country which his father left: "The distance between the two countries politically is surely as great as the ocean between their shores. Let those who will proclaim as the objective of all human development the intensely centralized all-wise, all-seeing State. True Americans will have none of it, not King nor Kaiser, nor military autocrat, nor aristocrat, nor government from above, not even if it makes the cities beautiful, cares for its sick and dependent as no other political system, develops education as none before and conquers the industrial world by wedding science to industry. For there is something nobler and better than efficiency, something far more worth while than good government, and that is self-government. No such blessing as this exists today in Germany, where the right to vote not once but several times at each election is the privilege of property owners, as in Prussia, where there is no responsible Ministry in the Reichstag to be changed by the popular will, where autocrat and Junker control the Government, while Agrarians dominate its fiscal policy even to the extent of putting taxes on food to grind the poor."

Is this really still a time when such a verdict can be accepted by thinking Americans? Freshmen debaters may

still wrangle about the question whether the monarchical or the republican State form is the better one in general. Those who have learned to think historically know that State forms cannot be arbitrarily made and that a republic for Germany would be as ludicrous as a monarchy for the United States. Each State form has its shadows as well as its lights.

But is it true that monarchical Germany is really less self-governing than republican America? A year ago we heard that the Emperor made war against the will of the nation. Today the world knows at least that people and Emperor were one in this war from the hour in which Russia mobilized her troops, while Americans learned that their President indeed has the power to decide upon war or peace in lonely reflection.

And what became of the fancy that the King and the aristocrats are the war-makers, while the quiet citizen is pacifistic? Do we not know now that the Kaiser and the Chancellor and the aristocratic diplomats are in favor of compromises and concessions and conservative peace conditions, while Tirpitz, the man of the middle class—he got his nobility only as Admiral—and the industrial associations and the Chambers of Commerce are the ones who insist on the sharper warfare and on annexations in France and Russia?

It is true that Agrarians dominated the fiscal policy "even to the extent of putting taxes on food," but are those Agrarians not part of the people which governs itself, and is Mr. Villard not aware that this Agrarian policy was one of wisdom and has saved the country? If the anti-Agrarians had prevailed with their tax policy in the interest of industry German agriculture would have faded away as that of England did, and the German Nation would have been completely dependent upon imports, while it can now live on in the midst of the English blockade.

And is it fair to denounce the German rights of voting by pointing to some antiquated methods in the election for the Prussian Diet, that is, for a single State? What has the Diet of Prussia to do with

German politics? Does Mr. Villard not know that the vote for the German Reichstag is based on the freest manhood suffrage known in any country in Europe, incomparably freer than the vote in England? Is the Ministry really not responsible to the Reichstag? The Emperor cannot veto a bill, and, more important, every figure in the budget of the Government is dependent upon the vote of the Reichstag. The Reichstag can withhold the salary of the Chancellor and the Secretaries and can stop the whole machine of government by refusing the appropriations.

Yes, the German Nation governs itself just as much as the American. Misuses may disfigure the system there as well as here, but both lands are lands of freedom. Yet does this mean that there is no essential inner difference? Certainly not. In full freedom and mature self-government the German people aim toward different ideals and organize their life with different beliefs from those of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The fundamental issue has often been shown in this year of excited discussions. If all the absurd misunderstandings and willful distortions be disregarded and the pitiful declamations about Treitschke and Nietzsche be set aside the real difference comes clearly to light—the Anglo-Saxon system is controlled by the belief in the individual as such and the Teutonic ideals are bound by the belief in the overindividual soul.

The greatest happiness of individual men on the one side, the growth of cultural value, independent of the happiness which they bring, on the other side; that is the world contrast. Everything else necessarily results from it. The overemphasis on the State as the bearer of the cultural values on the German side, the submission of the State to the perfection of the individuals on the Anglo-Saxon side, are the necessary consequences.

Like two great religions, these two groups of ideals are blessing Western mankind, both strikingly different from ideals of the East. Different virtues must be emphasized, different defects must be censured, when the State is

made to serve the individuals and their happiness, than when the individuals are to serve the State as the bearer of the national culture. This difference must not be minimized. We must keep it steadfastly before our eyes.

But what follows from it, if the German-Americans really proclaim that they wish to spread in this country a belief in those German ideals? Does it mean in the least that American citizens become disloyal to the country of their choice? Does it mean that they transact the business of Germany if they feel from the bottom of their hearts that an admixture of German ideals and German instincts ought to become the goal of the whole American Nation?

Surely this would be disloyalty if it were taken for granted that the American Nation can have only the one destiny—to be the embodiment of Anglo-Saxon ideals. But this is a postulate which the German-Americans absolutely decline to accept. There was never a land which, by its whole historic development and by the very conditions of its birth and its growth, acknowledged so frankly that it was not to depend upon a ready-made code of traditions, but that it was to develop its inner life by the will and the purpose of its inhabitants.

A European who was admitted to American citizenship was welcomed to a community of men who felt themselves bound together not by a common past, but by a common future. America does not mean a reminiscence, but a task. The immigrant, from whatever nation he comes, pledges by his oath of allegiance fundamentally only that he will contribute the very best which is in him to the development of the United States. It is not his duty, it is not even his right, to deny the ideals which are living in him in order to imitate the behavior of others who are filled with a different faith. It was necessary that the Anglo-Saxon ideals should have prevailed for a long while and that the newcomers who were disorganized should have become assimilated to the philosophy of public life which they found around them.

But this spell has been broken. Even the masses have firmly grasped the fun-

damental fact that not England but all Europe is the mother country of the United States. Those of low, selfish aim who have no interest but success in their private affairs may have yielded to the superficial dogma that the German and the Scandinavian, the Irish and the Italian, ought to accept the Anglo-Saxon ideals which those of English descent brought to these shores. Those who sought not profit and comfort alone, who wanted to work for the good of the Commonwealth, had to choose a less convenient way. They had to struggle for the recognition of their own ideals and to make them blend with the traits of the nation. They recognized the greatest mission of America, the mission not to be only England over again or any other European land, but by the joint forces of men of all the countries to fuse contrasting ideals into a harmonious whole which should truly express the faith of all its citizens.

The Norwegian and the Greek, the Dutch and the Italian, the Irish and the German, who come here are poor Americans if they come only to take and not to give, if they come only with the desire to profit from that which the others have accomplished and not with the persistent will to bring their own best traits and their own inherited virtues into the service of all. The Italian whose only ambition is to forget Naples and to garb himself in English physical and mental and moral costume is on the debit side of American life. He had better stay at home. But if he comes to bring into the colorless American life the Italian feeling for color and beauty, of sense enjoyment and enthusiasm, he enriches the country of his new allegiance and makes himself worthy to be an American. He does not serve Italy by that, he fulfills his duty to his new country if he keeps all which was noble and glorious in his native land living in his own heart and in those of his children and spreads it in his community.

This is the spirit in which the German-Americans felt it their sacred duty to keep warm the memories of their racial past and to foster the German ideals and the German virtues in their American

homes and in their American cities. That in itself has nothing whatever to do with help to the German Nation. It does not even necessarily involve a desire for special friendship between America and Germany; it proclaims only the firm conviction that the land of their hope will be a better and a nobler country if the ideals of their fathers are merged in the public life.

The Germans felt this duty perhaps more than others from the European Continent just because their national ideals are so strongly contrasting with some Anglo-Saxon creeds. Had it been only the love for music and flowers, for Christmas trees and gardens, for folk songs and fairy tales, it would have been insignificant, and they might have sacrificed it with a clear conscience.

But endlessly more important impulses were at stake. Their whole devotion to the overindividual ends, their faith in the State as bearer of the ideals, their trust in thoroughness and discipline, in purity and loyalty, were involved. They had become almost unconscious of this contrast in the routine of everyday life. But the great struggle about the war has awakened the burning consciousness of the tremendous issue. They suddenly have felt with shame that they had not done enough to bring these German ideals into the American life and to arouse understanding for their eternal value. Now they suddenly knew that they would disgrace themselves as Americans if they were disloyal to their foremost American duty. They pledged to keep the fire of the German belief alive on their hearth forever.

Is our time unfit for this message of German idealism? Is American life not in need of this gospel of thoroughness and discipline? Is it really better for the American future if those impulses which speak the soul of Germany are eliminated in order that the Anglo-Saxon instincts alone keep control of the land?

American politics has profited from the balance between the centralizing and the decentralizing energies in the country between the power of the nation and the power of the States. It would have been disastrous if only the one or the other

had determined the fate of the country. Is not just this balance needed between the individualistic Anglo-Saxon impulses and the overindividualistic German ideals? In the week in which Mr. Villard blamed the Germans for insisting on the right of their ideals, Mr. Metcalfe wrote: "That dramatic art is in a condition of deterioration is not to be denied. That is also true of our literature, of our painting, of our sculpture, of our education, of our journalism, of our politics, of our business integrity, of our statesmanship, of our religion, of our patriotism, and of all the things where idealism counts. We are practical; we are commercial; the great god graft is our divinity."

I do not think that this diagnosis is true either. There is certainly too much graft, but dishonesty is not a fundamental fault of the American make-up. Who is the true enemy of American life?

On the morning of July 24 every one in the United States found on the first page of his newspaper the note in which the American Government told Germany that it would consider it an unfriendly act in the ominous sense of diplomatic language if the further pursuit of German warfare against English ships should lead to the drowning of an American citizen. Millions who were clamoring for an American war in the interest of the Allies read the message of that July morning with fervent enthusiasm. Other millions to whom the horrors of war without a national life necessity appear sinful read it with fear. Still other millions to whom a war between the United States and Germany appears a ghastly disaster read it with despair. But all asked in highest tension, What will be the answer? Will Germany really prove to be the first enemy which America faces in this twentieth century?

But a higher power than human diplomacy gave the answer without waiting, right in the hour in which the question was asked. On the same morning on which Secretary Lansing's message was heard around the world, not one, not ten, not a hundred, but nearly a thousand American citizens were drowned and found a death of horror in the waters.

Who was the enemy who dared to sink the American ship with her living freight? Who killed the many hundred joy-seeking Chicago people without warning? We all know that it was the spirit of carelessness and recklessness which torpedoed the pleasure boat, the same spirit which sank the Slocum with a thousand victims a few years ago. That is the true enemy today and has been the enemy for many a year, an enemy which cunningly and wantonly destroyed American life, the only real enemy which ought to be fought with the united force of the nation.

Can we forget the losses which the people have suffered—railroad accidents ten times more frequent than in Europe, murders almost a hundred times more numerous than in the leading countries of the Old World? But this enemy within the American borders has not only maimed and killed hundreds of thousands every year. It has devastated the natural treasures in the people's possessions, wasting the forests and the mines and the rivers, destroying the timber and the coal of future generations. It has even crippled the moral life, making education superficial and shallow, emptying the churches and filling the dance halls and saloons, undermining the family life and driving mankind to senseless chase for wealth and luxury and mere pleasure. Even the belittlers of Germany have never denied that the German mind is devoted to thoroughness and seriousness, to carefulness and lawfulness, to reverence and self-discipline. This German belief in training and expert judgment, in authority and efficiency, is the one weapon which can overcome the dangerous happy-go-lucky carelessness of American life.

May it not be said that the enmity against Germany which has taken hold of wide circles in America and the resulting war excitement have had no more treacherous effect than the sudden interruption which they brought in the struggle against this spirit of recklessness and lawlessness in the land? The fight against it had begun in many lines. The big crackers on the Fourth were forbidden, steel cars were built and many a grade crossing abolished, the country-



ISMAIL HAKKE PASHA

Late Grand Vizier of Turkey, Who Was Sent to Berlin to Effect the New
Turco-Teuton Entente.

(Photo © by American Press Assn.)



GENERAL DANGLIS

Chief of Staff of the Greek Army and New Minister of War of Greece
(Photo from Paul Thompson.)

wide movements for the conservation of the national resources began, the work against infant mortality and race suicide, against vice and intemperance had started, more and more old-age pensions and accident insurance were introduced, the schools were improved, child labor was reduced, some City Governments were cleaned. The spirit of carelessness and recklessness was at least threatened by a new spirit of thoroughness and conscientiousness.

The nation began to feel that instead of the go-as-you-please method traditions of healthy discipline must be gained. The child must learn to do his duty even if it is unpleasant. Self-discipline is more valuable than smartness, the respect for the expert more needed than the boldness with which every one feels ready to judge about everything. Unselfish endeavor and true religion are a greater glory than the power to buy the world. Haphazard whims were to be replaced by the methods of efficiency. All was in the midst of noble development, and all this was suddenly interrupted and threatened with wholesale destruction.

The reckless spirit of dash seemed to take command of the masses again. All the cheap instincts must be let loose when the cry is raised, "The enemy is beyond the ocean!" The real enemy at home must then be forgotten. All suspicion and fear, all boast and anger turn against the imagined enemy far away. Firecrackers burst again, the passions sway, the fire-eaters shout, and where yesterday the sober advice for "safety first" was still heard, reckless voices were outdoing one another in the demand to carry the gruesome war from distant Europe into the quiet land of America. It was exactly as President Lowell said to the Harvard students at the end of the last academic year: "Do not forget that we are hysterical people."

If hysteria takes hold of the national mind, the process of wholesome discipline must be stopped. It is easy to make a hero out of Harry Thaw, and to make a criminal out of William II., but it cannot be done without serious harm to the conscience of the whole people. If America turns against Germany, it is a misfor-

tune; but if this enmity against the Germans destroys the influence which Teuton ideals had at last gained in this country, if the spirit of thoroughness is subdued again, the misfortune is much greater. The duty of the German-Americans to interpret the ideals of public life in the sense of their Teutonic traditions was never more important for the progress of America.

The overwhelming mass of the people from the Atlantic to the Pacific seem in this hour united by the belief in the need of military preparedness. This, too, may perhaps be hasty. The ideal of peace at any price is surely not unworthy, and a persistent refusal to enter into the race for armament may truly be an effective means to work toward lasting peace. Yet it cannot be denied, however noble the pacifistic ideals are, their promoters have not succeeded as yet in proposing a single plan by which war would be abolished and yet at the same time possibilities be given for the healthy growth of progressive peoples and for the historically necessary reduction of decadent nations.

As long as such a scheme does not exist the American Nation is probably wise in doing like the others and in preparing for the possibility of a defensive war. But is this really possible with any hope for success as long as those ideals of the German-Americans, as long as expert judgment and thoroughness are ridiculed, discipline and authority denounced, and every free American believes that he may act as he pleases and that he may rely on smartness and dash?

Remember the Eastland! The training of an army can never begin in Plattsburgh camps; it must begin in the nursery and in the little schoolroom. However the European war may end, at its beginning Russian and French armies felt sure that they would soon enter the Brandenburg gate of Berlin; and today no foreign soldier is on German soil. Germany has so far won on land over a threefold superiority.

Who has done it? Hindenburg had his share, but German parents who taught their children discipline, German school teachers who taught their pupils thor-

oughness, have won the war up to today. If America believes in preparedness, it cannot buy it in the munitions factories; it can gain it only by developing those virtues which give meaning to the German-American creed.

Yet preparedness for and triumph in war are only a fraction of the national life. Every other phase, in education and morality, in art and science, in industry and law, demands the same contribution. The German-Americans cannot be blamed for insisting on gaining more influence when the needs of the

time are so crying and when they feel that they can contribute exactly what is needed.

It is easy to denounce the hyphenated citizens. He who sees deeper must recognize that the hyphen is a symbol of honor and that the German-Americans and the Irish-Americans, the Italian-Americans and the Norwegian-Americans, and the Anglo-Americans may all be equally proud of their hyphen if it is to them a sign of the pledge to contribute their racial ideals to the glorious fabric of the American Nation.

German-Americans and the United States

By Professor Albert Bushnell Hart

of Harvard University

IN setting forth his new Teutonic doctrine Professor Hugo Münsterberg elaborately discusses what he calls "The Impeachment of German-Americans." This "indictment" or "solemn trial" of the Germans he refers back to three supposed charges: (1) "The zeal with which they worked against anti-German agitation"; (2) "The farming of an alien party on American soil, of a State within the State, of an anti-American army"; (3) "An attempt to introduce into American life and the American State German principles of arbitrary government." Professor Münsterberg candidly excludes himself from the German-Americans and asserts himself to be a German and a German only, who may, therefore, study the question with detachment.

The text of the article is measured and courteous. No one can take exception to the tone or the language used, which is the more reason for carefully going into the doctrine thus laid down, for it comes from a German who for eighteen years has been an alien resident of the United States and has strong views with regard to the rightful influence and future activity of his blood-brethren who have elected to become Americans. It may appear before we get through that

Münsterberg's agreeable words express a doctrine which till a year ago was novel to Americans, and which involves a theory of race relations which would be of immense harm to the Republic.

Till recently nobody except registers of voters concerned themselves with the status of a man who was German in appearance, spoke German, perhaps as his only language, and called himself a "German." He might be either one of four things: (1) A German citizen sojourning in the United States for a brief time; (2) a German citizen established here for life; (3) a former German citizen, now naturalized in this country; (4) a native-born citizen, descended from German ancestry.

They were all welcome. They bore a national character for industry and public spirit. Many of them married with Americans of other race descents. They were a valuable and valued element in the population of many cities and many States.

Actually there is a serious difference between the German-born or person of German descent who is still a German subject and one who has become an American citizen. The former is under many obligations and restrictions which do not apply to the latter. In many

States he cannot vote at all and in the others only if he has taken steps looking toward naturalization. He is subject to the call of his own Government in case of war, as hundreds of thousands have realized during the last year. He is entitled to the aid and protection of his own Government in this country if he needs it. He has no claim to remain in the country if Congress chooses to enact that he shall depart.

On the other hand, he is entitled to the protection of the laws and courts, and city, State and National Governments. He receives some privileges which his own Government would not dream of bestowing upon foreigners. For instance, Hugo Münsterberg has for many years been a professor of an American university; while in some German States, and probably in all, no one can possibly become a regular professor except by naturalizing himself as a German.

The alien resident has all the privileges of free speech and a free press possessed by citizens. Yet as a guest and sojourner it would be a monstrous breach of breeding for him to endeavor to build up political parties in this country, or to take part in movements for putting pressure upon the United States Government.

One of the equally serious "indictments" against the Germans is that many of them who owe allegiance only to the German Empire have taken advantage of this hospitality of the United States to make trouble for the Government, and to rouse all whom they can influence against the measures of the Administration.

It is they who have most persistently accused American business men and the whole Government of encouraging kinds of business which aid the Allies, and are therefore unfavorable to the German armies; hence, in the view of these favored aliens, they are contrary to good morals and to international law. Even a man of so much experience, weight, and good intentions as Bernhard Dernburg discovered that his usefulness in America was at an end when he defended the killing of the Americans on the Lusitania, for which the Administration demanded redress as a wanton at-

tack upon the lives of noncombatant Americans.

The naturalized German and his descendants are on an entirely different footing. In the eyes of the law, he is a complete citizen in every particular, except that the United States by treaty with Germany has consented that two years' residence in the original home country, without showing any intention to return, may cause the forfeiture of American citizenship and a return to German citizenship. The naturalized citizen must not only pay taxes and obey the laws like the aliens, he must also serve his country if called upon in time of war.

On the other hand, if he goes abroad he is entitled to something that the alien never has, namely the protection of the United States Government. President Taft went so far as to put an end to a treaty with Russia which had lasted nearly a hundred years, because Russia refused to give the ordinary privileges of travel to Jewish-American citizens.

The alien German and the naturalized German have this in common, that they both came to the United States in order to better themselves. Nobody compelled them, nobody paid them. They made their own choice. If they ever accepted Professor Münsterberg's argument that Germany is much better governed; if the German education, social life, civic spirit, governmental efficiency really seemed to them so much higher than ours, then why in the name of the Temple of the Thousand Gods have they not all gone home long ago?

Every German who comes to this country as anything except a passing visitor thereby expresses his opinion that he does not like Germany enough to live there. If there is truth in one-tenth of the passionate adoration of all German methods, which has been so plentiful in the ultra German-American press, we must make up our minds to lose several millions of our most esteemed fellow-citizens as soon as the war is over and the German steamers begin to run again.

Professor Münsterberg seems to suppose that most of the permanent resi-

dents or temporary residents have, like himself, come over in order to bring a higher and nobler civilization to America. It would be safe to say that forty-nine-fiftieths of them came here to raise not us, but themselves; because wages were higher, or the conditions of life easier, or the opportunities for their children better, or because they "did not like to be bossed" in Germany.

Many of the German immigrants have been highly educated people, who have contributed to the intellectual life of America; but the last thing they intended to import was the political ideals of their Fatherland. Some of them fled for their lives from those ideals. Many of them, such as Carl Follen and Carl Schurz, brought with them democratic ideas which were tabooed in Germany and which they hoped to find welcome in America. There is absolutely no gainsaying the fact that the Germans are here because they like America as they have found it better than they liked Germany when they lived in that country. Upon what, then, does Professor Münsterberg found his dictum that "the Germans felt this duty perhaps more than others from the European Continent just because their national ideals are so strongly contrasting with some Anglo-Saxon creeds?"

Other Germans who have lived longer in America than Professor Münsterberg and have adopted it as their own land refuse to take part in such a movement. Who can fail to see that it would be the worst thing that could happen to the German-Americans? If any of them want a different type of Government, they are free to go elsewhere and find it. If they want their fellow-Americans to feel that they are a people of capacity they will not produce that impression by starting a political party.

Some hotheads count upon a combination with the Irish, which is very unlikely because no people in the world are such successful politicians as the Irish, partly because of their unrivaled habit of standing together and partly because they never attempt the impossible.

The impossible in this country is to form a successful political body which

is avowedly composed of members of only one race, or of two races. There is probably not a State, certainly not a large city, in the United States where a professedly German ticket would not be snowed under at the first election by a combination of the other races. The thing is as plain as A B C. If nobody but Germans are going to vote for the ticket, nobody but Germans would be elected if it were successful, and nobody but Germans would get any of the good things of office.

Under such circumstances the utmost that can be done must be to elect a few specially tagged German members of City Councils, Legislatures and Congress, powerless to do, but sometimes in a position to prevent action. If Germans can do that, Poles, Scandinavians, and Italians may do the same. The net result of such an attempt to interject European race problems into American politics would be to cripple the Legislatures and to put the Germans in the position of malcontents.

The writer can never forget the impression made on his mind by sitting in the gallery of the Reichstag in the old Bismarck days and noting the subdivision of the members on the floor into religious and other groups, a subdivision which made real popular government impossible.

Or is this movement intended to be a punishment to all the Americans who have sympathized with the Allies in the present war? In his book, "War and America," a year ago, a distinguished German, professor in an American university, did not hesitate to warn his hosts that German voters are going to take a hand in this. "Their national German-American alliance with two and a half million voters as members, their intellectual leaders and their economic captains of commerce and industry, their farmers and their workingmen, old and young, men and women, first generation and second and third, every religious sect, North Germans and South Germans, Austrians and Swiss—they will be united and will show a crushing power of which the reckless torchbearers of German hatred did not dream." The same writer, who

earnestly pleads for friendship between Germany and the United States, sees a possibility of still severer retribution. "There is no inkling of the neutrality which the President upholds as long as the press indicts and convicts Germany and the Emperor without evidence, from mere passionate prejudice. * * * The Germans do not preach hatred against their neighbors, but they insist that it would be a gigantic calamity if this war were to cut the ties of the American and German nations."

All that is a bugaboo. When this dreadful war is over, the passions and resentments and distrusts among Americans will die out, for whoever is responsible for the war we surely are not.

We cannot expect German-Americans to be fiercer than the German Emperor, who has had the sagacity to take backwater on the question of the drowning of American citizens which so aroused the American people. Where does that leave the hotheads who were saying in public that the 100 Americans on the *Lusitania* got what they deserved? It leaves them just where they will be left if they ever try to found a German-American political party.

It is well for some of the alien journalists who have so misused our hospitality that they are not staying under an "overindividual" or a Supreme State. What would the German Government do to Americans in Berlin who tried to induce Americans who had become naturalized Germans to start a political propaganda against, let us say, monarchy?

The Americans have received, welcomed and liked their German visitors and fellow-citizens because they came to this country and accepted it as a haven, because they have entered into the national life more readily than any immigrant race, except the English, Scotch and Welsh. They have nowhere formed "quarters" in the great cities like those of the Italians and Bohemians, the Poles and many other races. They have diffused themselves among the population. As farmers they have settled in race groups less than the Scandinavians, many of them frequent their own church, schools and colleges; but a large part of

the young Germans who have enjoyed higher education have found it in State and endowed universities, in which a majority of the students were not of the German race.

To claim that the Germans, consciously or unconsciously, have been furnishing their countrymen with political ideals superior to those which they found here, or will furnish a supply of such ideals is, to speak mildly, a great presumption. They are not agitators or propagandists. They have shared and shared alike, glad to accept the kind of society and government which they found here.

So far from German political ideals being invoked to supplant inferior and weaker conceptions inherited from our Revolutionary and later times, it is the American ideals which have filtrated into Germany. The German imperial federation would probably never have been brought about but for the success of the American federation in proving that it could govern a great nation and hold a great people together. The manhood suffrage for the Reichstag can be historically traced to the success of widely diffused suffrage in the United States. The precept and example of the United States are largely responsible for even the limited degree of democracy in the German Empire, in many cases transmitted by Germans who had lived in this country.

Why not? The sublime conception of "government of the people, for the people and by the people" is longer lived than Abraham Lincoln, broader than the United States and higher than the German Empire. These ideals belong to mankind. The true German-Americans are a democratic folk, most of whom would be unhappy under an imperial system of government, no matter how wise, fatherly and protective. That is one of the main reasons why they are not subjects of a monarchical empire.

What the self-appointed leaders of the German-Americans in this country (among whom Professor Münsterberg is not meant to be included) are after is so to arouse the national feeling of former Germans as to cause them to adhere together in a race group. Naturally,

Germans born and children of Germans born, when their former country entered into war, believed in its aims and hoped for its victory. Blood is thicker than water.

The author of this article is proud to count among his forebears a Swedish pastor who was an immigrant to the United States. Because of that connection, he is interested in Sweden and the one-time home of the family; he is prone to think well of Swedish literature, of Swedish society, of the Swedish people. He wishes safety to the Swedish Nation. He thinks there are good things about Swedish society which Americans would do well to take into account. He is Swedish-American in the sense that he recognizes both the Swedish and the English contributions to the make-up of his country; but an American first and Swedish afterward.

That seems to be the point of view of most of the persons in the United States who go back two or three generations to German ancestors. It ought to be the frame of mind of every born German who has chosen to be an American. When it comes to political parties and to State policy, woe to the country in which the races group together and keep alive a sense of solidarity against all other races!

The fearful suffering of the Near East is largely due to the existence of just such race units. Turkey has been for six centuries a hodge-podge of peoples, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Arabs, Bulgarians, Serbians, Rumanians, Montenegrins; every one keeping up its religion, language, traditions, and national spirit, however widely diffused. The Balkans for three years have been a blood bath, because the Greeks in Bulgaria consider themselves still Greeks, and the Bulgarians in Macedonia are still Bulgarians. So with Austria-Hungary, which may possibly be patched up again, but is doomed to final collapse, because no policy can satisfy the race units which are adherent to each other. What can you do for a so-called nation when it is "first a Bohemian and then a subject of the empire!" "First a Hungarian," "first a Slav." What a spectacle for

mankind and what wretchedness for the people in the composite empire!

The Turks appear at last to have discovered the only way of stopping the complaints of subject races, and that is to exterminate them.

The United States possesses as many races as Austria-Hungary, or Russia, or the Turkish Empire, and yet up to this time we have not been conscious of any race difficulty, except that of the negro. One main reason why that is so serious is because the greater part of them are grouped in a limited area and are recognizable at sight as members of a special race. The Scotch, the Germans, the Scandinavians, the Slavs, the Jews are all diffused through many States and cities. Until the great European war came they lived on comfortable terms with each other, and never dreamed of national race parties. If the Germans, as Münsterberg advises, are "to keep the fire of the German belief alive on their hearth forever," of course the Irish, the Swedes, the Greeks, the Italians, the Hungarians, the Slovaks, the Bohemians, the Poles, the English, the Turks, the Egyptians, the Albanians are entitled to do the same thing.

Our hope as a nation is that each of the scores of nationalities who have come to us for the same flattering reason that the Germans have come will give up its traditional ways and practices so as to allow a national feeling to grow up, such as Germany cultivates.

We are assured by Professor Münsterberg that "the German mind is devoted to thoroughness and seriousness, to carefulness and lawfulness, to reverence and self-discipline. This German belief in training and expert judgment, in authority and efficiency, is the one weapon which can overcome the dangerous, happy-go-lucky carelessness of American life." Suppose we take a leaf from that book. Let us see what the especially thorough, serious, expert, careful nation does to race groups which attempt to do what Professor Münsterberg advises his countrymen to do to us.

Germany is one of the most homogeneous countries in the world. Nevertheless, it has several non-German and dis-

contented race elements. In the Mazurian Lake region, where so many hard battles have been fought in the last twelve months, there are 400,000 Slavs who cannot speak German at all, and in Poland there are 3,000,000 Poles who can not or will not use the imperial language. With these exceptions, the German Government has succeeded in compelling every man, woman, and child in its dominions, except alien residents, to know German. What would be the effect if the United States Government should make the attempt to compel everybody to speak English?

There are in the empire about 4,000,000 Poles, nearly the whole of whom live in the same province and preserve their Polish spirit. Does efficient Germany, whose former subjects are called upon by Professor Münsterberg to teach us the significance of race groupings, encourage this state of things? Does the German Government recognize that the Poles were there before the Germans came? Does the German Government encourage the Poles to "keep the fire of the Polish belief alive on their hearths forever"? Not precisely. Every effort has been made short of actual physical force to Germanize the Poles, to break up the use of their language, to destroy the cohesion which is among them, to quench the memory of the glorious days of what was once a brilliant kingdom.

At the other end of Germany is another group, in Alsace and Lorraine. The people are German in origin, but some of them as distinctly French as the people of Bordeaux. Have they been allowed in the last forty-five years to "keep the fire of the French belief alive on their hearths forever"? Not precisely. In the northwest of the empire is another group of Danes—Danish in blood, in sympathy, in language. Are they making a contribution to the common life of the empire? Not precisely. The whole theory and policy of the German Empire is that every person within the empire and subject to the empire shall be German, join the German Army, think German, and preach German.

Of course the explanation is that the State is superior to the Individual; that

the future of Germany as a great power depends upon the unity of her people; that the Polish, French, and Danish cultures are inferior to the German and must give way to a higher *Kultur*. The three or four million non-Germans must bend to the sixty-one or sixty-two million Germans.

Carry the principle over! Here in America, where we have not three, but thirty race elements, shall we encourage any one of these elements to maintain itself on the ground that it represents a higher civilization which is to be a lesson to the rest of the country? Shall we permit what Germany would be horror-struck to allow in order that Germans who prefer to leave their own country may unite as a permanent political force in the country of their adoption?

What are the advantages which the American Nation is to gain from a tightening up of Teutonic feeling among several million of its citizens, and a conscious effort to make them a distinct and separate section of the American people? Münsterberg tells us that "the Anglo-Saxon system is controlled by the individual as such, and the Teutonic ideals are bound by the belief in the overindividual soul." Elsewhere he admires in the Germans in America "their whole devotion to the overindividual ends, their faith in the State as bearer of the ideals, their trust in thoroughness and discipline, in purity, and loyalty."

This is a somewhat vague and colorless statement of the philosophical theory that the State is a thing, an existence, a force, a unit, a whole, which is made up of multitudes of men, but is not human. The same conception is often applied to the Church. Mere human beings know both the Church and the State only as a combination of other human beings acting through human beings.

There may be an oversoul, though no photograph of it has yet been obtained; but there is no State which is not made up of men, organized by men, and carried into effect by men. If the overindividual will speak through Gabriel's trumpet, we will bow the knee. If he

speaks through the vocal organs of a man issuing orders, or through the pen of a Secretary, or the megaphone of a Commander in Chief, we Americans think that the Emperor, or the Minister, or the General is only a man like ourselves, capable of error and of injustice.

People talk about "the State" as though it were the ark of the covenant. In fact it is only an organization similar in kind, though far superior in power, to the club or the order or the National Church. The purpose of the State is to make and execute common decisions for the common welfare. The real crux in government is, Who makes the decisions? The Germans who compare the United States with Germany seem to think that they are made here by individuals, and in Germany by "the State." In both countries they are made by the men who for the time being are in power.

When we say that in Germany people work for the State we mean that they work for the maintenance of a particular organization which came about in part by design and in part by accident.

If the people of Germany are satisfied with it, no one can deny their right; but what they are satisfied with is not the delegation of the power to make the decision of life and death for the nation, to some persons elected by their fellows, but to permit the chief powers of government to spring from a man, able indeed, but selected by the accident of birth, that man aided by members of

certain families possessed of certain properties to whom it is the traditional habit of the nation to defer.

However efficient and masterful that system may be, it has no ground for claiming that it is the only normal and desirable system for other parts of the world. We have our own notions about the nature of government. Our chief interest is in the people who are not in office; the Germans are more concerned with those who are. We look upon the State as the servant of the community; the Germans look upon it as a God-given master.

Nobody can possibly quarrel with the German people for thinking that they have a good thing for which it is worth while to make many sacrifices. Shall they, therefore, hold up the German principle of the supremacy of the State as an ideal so incalculably important that the Germans in America are to band together as a sort of guild of State-makers? The only thing that will ever shake the people of the United States out of the idea that the welfare and happiness of the individual is the proper end of the State will be a disastrous war with a nation which is founded on the State-for-the-State theory.

Most of the Germans in this country do not hold to that doctrine and could not teach it, for they are here to cultivate their own individuality and to allow their children to grow up under that influence. No race group in the country is more genuinely democratic than the German.

German Estimate of Allies' Losses

A Berlin dispatch by The Associated Press via London, dated Oct. 4, 1915, reported:

A supplement to the German official statement says that the French losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners in the recent fighting were at least 130,000, and those of the British 60,000, while the German losses were not one-fifth of this number.

The German official statement of the loss by the Allies of an aggregate of 190,000 men follows within a few days an official estimate of German casualties made by the French War Office, which asserted in its statement of Wednesday, Sept. 29, that the Germans had lost since the beginning of the allied offensive a total in killed, wounded, and prisoners of "more than the effective strength of three army corps," or about 120,000 men.

Romance of a London Square

By May Sinclair

This article appeared originally in The London Daily Chronicle.

OWN that I was a little depressed by my friend's invitation. It was that I should go at once to 13 Kensington Square and see the work done by the War Hospital Supply Depot, and write an appeal for it "in the papers." Friends are always inviting you to do this sort of thing in the pathetic belief that everything you send to "the papers" will infallibly get in, (whereas in nine cases out of ten it doesn't.) Sometimes the theme is inspiring and romantic; sometimes it is not. This time I accepted with virtuous resignation. The Kensington War Hospital Supply Depot did not sound in the least romantic or inspiring. Besides, I had a suspicion that I was not by any means the first to be invited. It would be easy enough if you ever were the first.

At the very beginning the secretary presents his paralyzing report; long lists of articles and reeling rows of numerals running into four and five figures, to be "boiled down" for the appeal. When told that you propose to write (besides the desired appeal) something a little more thrilling, more decorative, he says that nothing is easier. Talk of inspiring! By way of inspiration he will tell you how one writer has described his sensations on coming out of the busy High Street into the quiet square, with the trees and the birds and the rest of it, and catching sight of the War Hospital Supply Depot; and of the charming fancy of another—how (talk of romance!) the ghost of a little eighteenth century lady, the guardian of the house, gives up her place to the army of white-robed, white-veiled volunteers, and retires into her powder-closet; and of the happy thought of a third—but I am sworn not to anticipate or give away that happy thought, and I would die rather. So the secretary goes on amiably inspiring till he has taken all the wind out of your sails. It always happens that the best things have been done al-

ready. There was nothing left for me but to become a volunteer and know what it feels and looks like.

That is the way to capture the authentic thrill, the secret of the house in Kensington Square. You do not need any decoration or any little ghost to make you feel it. The reality is even better than that charming dream.

You cannot miss it—the house, I mean. It faces you from High Street. As you go down Young Street you see, first, an enormous "PLEASE," then, over the porch the grouped flags of the Allies, then an enormous "HELP"; then, through the front windows, crowds of women in white overalls and white veils. They might be novices in a convent. There are three thousand of these volunteers. They fill four houses in the square, and one in Kensington Court, and yet another house in Cromwell Road. And in the garden behind there are the carpenters' workshops, where a hundred men volunteers work. The secretary's report tells you that "it is the aim of the council to attain a very high standard of efficiency for all the work carried out by the depots." This is putting it modestly. The work is said to be the very best yet supplied to the hospitals. The experts who control it are always contriving new methods and improving upon old. No process is too laborious that insures perfection.

Take the making of a mere surgical swab. If you ask a trained nurse how to make a surgical swab she will probably say: "Oh, you take a bit of medicated cotton wool and roll it three or four times round your finger, or a piece of antiseptic gauze and fold it till it's thick enough. There isn't time to make them any other way." And you reply proudly, "That isn't the way they make them at the depot." There are two large work-rooms where the volunteers, with all eternity before them, are making nothing else. It is a delicate process that

may take any time from seven to twenty minutes. First, yards and yards of gauze must be folded into squares and cut to regulation size. Then the sheets of cotton wool must be torn and split to a fine web, and the web must be teased out to the fineness of feathers, snowflakes, thistledown, then gathered up and patted into a ball so light that a breath will blow it away; the ball must be placed on the very centre of the gauze square, the corners of the square taken up cross-wise and made fast, the first pair in a single tie that compresses the puff-ball into a cocoon, the second pair gathered together in the centre and secured by a sailor knot; the cocoon is then squeezed back into a ball, a ball that, to be properly absorbent, must have the right degrees of resistance and elasticity and no other. Then, and not till then, you have a surgical swab that is as good or better than any sponge.

Packed by tens in a muslin bag, these swabs go straight from the workrooms into the sterilizers. Nobody is allowed to bring as much as one needle into the workroom, lest it should get into a swab, and thus into a wound. The guarded and perfect thing, that has taken so much time and labor to produce, has a working life of about one second. It may travel hundreds of miles to dab a wound once and be thrown away. For this brief purpose seven thousand will be sent from the depot in a week.

You might think that bandages were a simpler matter. But no; when the stuff is measured out, when two of the nun-like ladies have risen up and engaged with furious energy in the tug-of-war that tears it into strips, each strip must be plucked for the loose threads at either edge, then rolled three times over, first by hand, then on a wooden machine that winds it tight, finally on a metal machine that screws it up to the extreme pitch of perfect tightness. Or so it was until the other day when the head of one of the bandage rooms invented a machine that does away with the clumsy hand-rolling altogether. The stuff is passed on to the bar that rolls it between two V-shaped wooden flaps that hold it absolutely straight and

on the stretch, their tension being regulated by two light spring clamps. You keep the V in the middle of your strip; you turn the handle of the bar; and in a few seconds your bandage is ready for the final rolling. And the thing fascinates you; it tempts you to work overtime; you turn and turn the handle in an ecstasy of increasing speed; you are torn from it reluctantly, and go home dreaming of tomorrow, when you will get back to it. Thanks to its inventor, the depot can now turn out more bandages in a few minutes than it could formerly in half an hour.

And in the carpenters' workshops the hundred are making all sorts of hospital furniture, bed rests and bed tables and cradles and trays and trolleys; and splints, some carved delicately to the shape of a leg or arm—the last word in splints—and crutches, hundreds of crutches. One head of the carpenters' rooms is a barrister, who in his holiday moments will make exquisite jewelry or build a canoe (he would no doubt build a 200-ton schooner if you gave him holidays enough); now, at the War Hospital Depot, "his swift and fair creations issue like worlds from an archangel's hands." The whole band of war carpenters are working as if their lives depended on it. They are at it on Saturday afternoons and on Sundays; they are given over to it with an austere and sacred passion, as if it were golf.

At 20 Kensington Court, another army of women volunteers are turning out hospital garments—shirts, pajamas, pneumonia jackets—and sheets and pillow slips and sandbags—not for the trenches but for the beds. These, made of strong linen or fine canvas, serve to keep at rest a wounded hand or foot or limb when splints are not needed. The two top floors are given up to the slipper makers.

Nothing is wanted at the depot, the "uppers" of the slippers are made out of remnants and scraps of any suitable material you care to send, cretonnes or unglazed chintzes, no matter the gayety of the design. The old linen you send may be full of holes, but out of one worn sheet somebody will make a draw sheet, out of a torn towel a smaller towel, out

of the cuttings squares that the surgeons can wipe their instruments on and throw away. The very ends snipped from the swabs and the loose threads from the bandages are gathered up and saved to stuff pillows with. The German Government could not practice a profounder thoroughness, a more inexorable thrift.

These things go to the Dardanelles, to British East Africa, to Serbia, to France, and Belgium, and all over the United Kingdom by hundreds and by thousands, and the hospitals are asking for more and more.

And eight months ago there was not any depot. Barely eight months ago it began with four persons and three five-pound notes. Then, by some miracle, it grew. And the romance of that miracle would be enough, if Kensington Square had no little ghost in her powder closet to work it. Still, we must not leave too much to the supernatural. A volunteer supply depot is always in need of help—help in money, in material, in volunteers. This is not an appeal; but it is a broad hint.

Washington—and After

By ELLA A. FANNING.

Home! and some tired, I'll allow—
Sort of a buzz in my head!
I've got the old army grit,
Neighbor, or else I'd be dead!

Marched? With the best of them, yes!
Just as I did at Seven Oaks!
Say! when I think of that line,
Somethin' right here kind o' chokes!

Me! keepin' step through them streets,
After th' years that's gone by!
Me! once in army blue brave,
Broad-shouldered, quick, keen of eye!

Seemed like the ghost of myself,
Marchin' with more shadders there!
Just sort o' comradin' on—
Not mindin' how long, or where!

Then came the word, an' we knew
Wilson was watchin' our line!
If we wuz feeble or stiff,
None of us gave any sign!

We just briskened up like young sprigs—
Walked right along with new vim,
Felt that our swing an' our style
Must seem consolin' t' him!

He an' this Nation well know—
Though some wild talk has been said—
If he but needed t' call,
Others would march where we led!

The Soul and Stones of Venice

By Gabriele d'Annunzio

This article, by the poet of belligerent Italy, who is now at the battle front, appeared on Sept. 14, 1915, in The London Daily Telegraph.

IN belligerent Venice, that reinforces her airy arches, her delicate triforae, with rough walls of bricks, cement, and beams; in the Venice which has transformed her hotels, formerly sacred to leisure and love, into hospitals full of bleeding heroes; in the dark and silent Venice, whose soul is in intense expectation of the roar of the far-away guns; in courageous and determined Venice, which hourly awaits the apparition in the sky, where there still linger Tiepolo's and Veronese's soft clouds, of winged death-bearing craft; in the Venice of the greater Italy, the Land of Abraham Lincoln has today an extraordinary representative and admirable witness, whose mission has assumed unexpected importance.

This representative is an American woman, who has consecrated herself to our Saint Francis of Assisi. I like to think of her as one of those saints who bear in the palm of their open hand either a tower or a church or a palace. She was sent to Venice many years ago to execute miniature plaster copies of the most artistic buildings. If the stupid Austrian ferocity should ruin one of St. Mark's domes, a wing of the Procuratie, a lodge of the Ducal Palace, a nave of SS. John and Paul's Church, the choir of the Frari, or the gentle miracle of the Ca' d'Oro, there will remain a souvenir of the beautiful things destroyed in the plaster models of the patient artificeress.

The Venetian knows her well under the name which I myself bestowed on her years ago, the Franciscan sister of the Giudecca. The Ca' Frollo, where she resides, is a yellow structure overlooking a large garden bordering on the Lagoon. A steep oak stairway leads up to the living room. Above the entrance there is an iron shield, with ornamental edges closely resembling a frying pan, which in

ancient times was used to dish out polenta. It is Miss Clara's coat-of-arms.

She comes and meets me smiling on the threshold. On her face a smile multiplies as a ray of sun on a rippled water surface. I have the immediate and strong impression of finding myself before that strange phenomenon represented by a person truly full of life. She wears a bluish cassock, like an artificer. Her hair is white, of the brightest silver, raised on the forehead and thrown back. The eyes are sky blue, shining, innocent, infantine, and in them the internal emotions ebb constantly like flowing water. She has the strong, rough hand of the working-woman.

Her attic is very large. The massive beams fastened with iron are as numerous as the trunks of a forest, moth-eaten, with all their fibres exposed, of a golden brown color. Along the walls plaster casts of architectonic details are disposed: capitals, arches, tailpieces, cornices, bas reliefs. There is a complete fireplace by Lombardo, the very fireplace of the Ducal Palace. There are Madonnas, busts and masks. Suspended on two ropes is a model of an ancient Venetian galley, a hull of which the lines are most beautiful.

"I rescued it at Chioggia with a few cents from a fisherman who was in the act of burning it to cook his polenta," Miss Clara told me.

On one side the windows look out on the Giudecca Canal, which shows the Ducal Palace, the Piazzetta, the library, and the anchored ships, and on the other they look into the garden and the Lagoon. At intervals a rumbling is heard in the distance. Miss Clara sits by the window.

"With the hands of a saint, with religious hands," I tell her, "you have copied the most beautiful churches and palaces of Venice. Now these beautiful things

are threatened, are in danger. We expect to see them in ruin any day. There will at least live the copies that you have sent beyond the sea."

Her blue eyes suddenly fill with tears and the horror of war, the horror of blind destruction, draw all the lines of her face.

"My God, my God!" she murmurs, joining her hands. "Will you allow such a crime?"

"What does it matter," I venture to say, "if the old stones perish, so long as the soul of Italy is saved and renewed?"

She stares at me intently with profound sadness, shaking her white head, over which there plays the purest light of sunset.

"Have you seen the blinded Ducal Palace?" she asks me, meaning the lodges which the curators have had imured.

We have before us the plaster model of the Palace, on which she has been working for several years. With infinite care she has modeled every arch, every column, every capital, every smallest detail. Her work is an enormous toy, built for an infant nation. She removes the roof and bends to look into it, resembling in the proportions the image of a gigantic saint in the act of guarding a refuge which she protects. Nobody knows better than she the structure of the edifice which incloses the blackened paradise. In my presence she dismounts the copy piece by piece, organ by organ; almost, I would say, limb by limb, even as an anathomist would do with the parts composing the human body in order to learn to know their number, their form, their location, and their relation to each other.

As the shadows begin to invade the attic, she lights an old brass lamp with four arms. The wicks crackle, diffusing a smell of olive oil, which mixes with that of the wax. In the attic the prints of the many matrices pile up, and it seems to be as if an impalpable sentiment of vigor rises from the concave matrices whence the copies of the beautiful things emerge.

Miss Clara works there together with a few workmen, who also compose her simple family. She eats with them the

polenta, at the same table. She takes me by the hand and leads me into her kitchen, where there is a single hearth, with a rack full of common but decorated dishes. Truly there breathes the spirit of St. Francis. She is a kind of nun in freedom who has passed from contemplation to action. Before all those beams I think of the worn-out, splintered wood of the Santa Chiara choir. Before the ears of corn which I see in a rustic vase my mind goes to the cluster of brown ears which I saw at the top of the reading desk in the choir of St. Bernardino of Siena.

"I am very poor," she tells me.

Whole treasures of goodness, indulgence, and love shine at the bottom of the flowing waters of her blue eyes. There is in the structure of her head something virile, and at the same time tender, something intrepid and meek. As the lines of her face seem rays, so her work, her solitude, her poverty are transfigured into divine happiness.

"I am very poor," she says, and she shows me her naked hands, strong and pure, the only source of her daily wealth.

I know she distributes all her earnings; I know that on more than one occasion she suffered hunger and cold. Today she had not even a bag of plaster for her work. Sitting by the window, she talks to me of her perennial joy, of the joy of working from dawn to sunset. Slowly the garden grows dark in the dusk. Night begins to fall on the Venice that no longer lights her lamps, not even the lamps before the Virgins watching over the deserted canals. The nocturnal horror of war begins to expand on the Lagoon. In the distance a rumbling is heard coming, perhaps from Aquilegia or Grado, where they are fighting for redemption. The vast attic illuminated by the four-armed lamp becomes alive with shadows and quiverings.

Sitting by the window, simple, candid, sweet, she searches my innermost soul, then she observes my hands, too white, and my nails, too polished, and, lo! poverty appears to me as the nakedness of force, as the sincerest and most noble statue of life.

"I also work," I tell her, as if ashamed of hands too white and my nails too pol-

ished. Then I speak to her of my discipline, of my nights spent at the desk, of my patient researches, of my constancy in remaining bent over my desk for fifteen, twenty hours at a stretch, of the enormous quantity of oil I consume in my lamp, of the pile of paper, bundles of pens, of the large inkstand, of all the tools of my trade. Then I show her a tangible proof; on my middle finger, deformed by the constant use of the pen, a smooth furrow and a callosity. She is immediately touched. All her face expresses a maternal tenderness. She takes my finger, examines the sign. Then suddenly, with a gesture of human grace which I shall never forget, she gently touches it with her lips.

"God bless you," she says.

The flowing water ebbs between her eyebrows, glittering, rippling, ever new.

"God keep you ever."

My heart is full of tender gratitude.

I am going to the war, and the blessing of this pure creature will bring me back. My hands shall become rough and dark. I shall work for the God of Italy, fight for the God of Italy.

"God keep Italy ever," she adds.

In leaving I stroll by the plaster models of the churches, palaces, lodges, bell-towers. The American nun, holding my hand, escorts me to the threshold. As I descend the oak stairway she vanishes in the shadow.

Night is already falling on Venice as an azure avalanche. As I raise my head to spy the appearance of the first star, I hear coming over from the deserted sky the rumbling of an aeroplane approaching from Malamocco.

"May God keep the stones of Venice."

And it seems to me as if Miss Clara weeps, over there, in her attic amid the images of the beautiful things over which there hangs the threat of destruction.

A Prophet on Bulgaria

By THEODOR WOLFF

In an article which, The London Daily News declares, reveals considerable foreknowledge of what has since occurred, Herr Theodor Wolff of the Berliner Tageblatt discusses the Balkan situation and makes a bid for Serbia's friendship. In view of the author's rather close acquaintance with high diplomatic quarters in Berlin, the article deserves attention. He writes:

Those whose senses are not blinded by prejudice cannot deny that the Serbian Nation has fought bravely, and has given proof of passionate patriotism and tenacious vitality. It used to be represented, in light-minded irony, as an opera-bouffe nation; at its own cost, and, unfortunately, Europe's, it has shown in a very convincing manner that it is ripe for a tragedy. * * * There are but few people who suffer from the desire to see Serbia wiped out from the book of nations. We only need in the Balkans, now and afterward, an unimpeded connection with the friendly Turkish Empire and a pacific consolidation all around, which can best be secured by the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria. Apart from this, most of us know that forcible strangulation and suppression has never yet brought anybody any profit. We wish every nation plenty of breathing air and opportunities for development.

At the same time the Serbian people, and Nicholas Pashitch, who has been directing the storm-tossed boat ever since September, 1912—and has gone through a good deal—must themselves understand the signs of fate. Possibly their soul is still, like the soul of Iphigenia, seeking the land of the Greeks.

Perhaps the wise and discreet Venizelos, leaving aside his honest and pronounced sympathy for the Entente powers, for which we must not blame him, will consider whether he could not better serve his friendly neighboring nation by some other policy than that which seeks a solution of all questions by the sword. The advice of such an experienced statesman might well prove more wholesome than the often incalculable deed.

Is Britain a Degenerate Nation?

By C. W. Saleeby, M. D., F. R. S. E.

This article, by a famous English eugenist, on Britain's million men rejected for military service, appeared on Sept. 17, 1915, in The London Daily Chronicle.

IN round numbers, perhaps three millions of men may have been accepted for British service in the past year, and one million have been rejected. The figure is appalling, not least now, when we should feel happier to know that all those men had been found fit and were serving today. Is it, then, as the Germans and many Americans say, that, in Byron's words, "History, with all her volumes vast, hath but one page," and that, like Babylon and Egypt, Greece, Rome and Spain, we must make way for a "young and vigorous race" across the North Sea or the Atlantic? No instructed German, at any rate, would have the face to suggest that this shocking proportion of defectives is a symptom of national senility, for he would know—and the fact is of good omen for the duration of the war—that his own country's figures are far worse.

Two years ago this month, visiting Munich for Wagner and Strauss, I found what its third most noted product, beer, is largely responsible for. The city is one of clean façades, wide, well-watered streets, clear air, free from smoke, for all the work is done by electricity made by "Iser, rolling rapidly." I wrote home to a contemporary on this cleanest of cities, but noted that I had not looked up its vital statistics. Home again, I did so. They are disgraceful. Consumption stands at a rate almost incredibly high. Just behind those fine places, made for show, are slums and vice and neglected childhood. Like a fine lady of the past, who washed and scented her face alone, but did not know that real cleanliness is of things not seen, Munich and modern Germany in general abound in physical deterioration, of which the first index is a national infanticide twice as high as ours. So much for the "young and vigorous race" theory.

Are our rejected million due, then, to the theory popular among those amateur eugenic societies whose activities are so continually embarrassing—that we have been breeding from our worst stocks, while the good and beautiful and strong have declined the task of parenthood, and are, therefore, somewhat disconcertingly, to be also labeled as selfish and unpatriotic and wrong? Or can that dilemma be avoided, as few advocates of class eugenics are clever enough to do, by saying that the middle classes have been compelled to deny themselves the bouncing boys they would so much prefer to motor cars or spare bedrooms because Mr. Lloyd George has taxed them so abominably for maternity benefit and other inducements to the multiplication of the unfit?

As a lifelong student of the subject, after years of research prepared for by years of training, I wish to announce the important discovery that the rejected million were once younger. It may be that, if we accept this theory, and inquire into their personal history, we shall find the clue to their present state. I well know that I am running counter to the opinion of many public men in this respect. They are quite content to assert that, there being youths of eighteen or so in the country, they should be conscripted, drilled, exercised, and that, if perchance any of them should have lost a molar or two, these would sprout again in a few months. Such men as are now typical of the movement to "take the men before the money" have never, since the Boer war, lent their names or their influence, in Parliament or the press, to anything but the mammon-worship which, selfish of course, is also so colossally stupid as to suppose that you can neglect a living being through all its years of growth and development and then undo all the damage by a little drill.

Let me tell the reader the true history of how the origin of adults was discovered in this country. The rejections during the Boer war were shocking. The late Sir Frederick Maurice commented upon them. A Royal Commission on Physical Training was appointed for Scotland, to find, I presume, the kind of dumb-bell best calculated to restore lost molars and smashed ear-drums. But some one, in the course of its inquiries, asked the question of the answer to which I have hinted. Have not these recruits once been younger, and what was happening then? So my friend, Dr. Leslie Mackenzie, now Medical Member of the Local Government Board for Scotland, was asked to inspect the children in an Edinburgh school. We had had national education for a generation, but this was the first time that a doctor had been employed even to look at the children, let alone treat them. He found the facts too dreadful for belief, but when other schools in Edinburgh, in other Scottish cities, and in England were examined, the same was found.

Hence, directly flowing from the revelations made during our last war, came the medical inspection, and now, to some extent, the medical treatment of school children. The necessary dumb-bells were not forthcoming, after all, and lately, instead, Mrs. Leslie Mackenzie took me over the admirable dental clinic, where the children of Edinburgh are having their teeth saved for the years ahead of them and us.

Those who have fought this movement by every means in their power, the political party on the London County Council which has resorted to every futile expedient rather than establish school clinics, the glass-eyed politicians who,

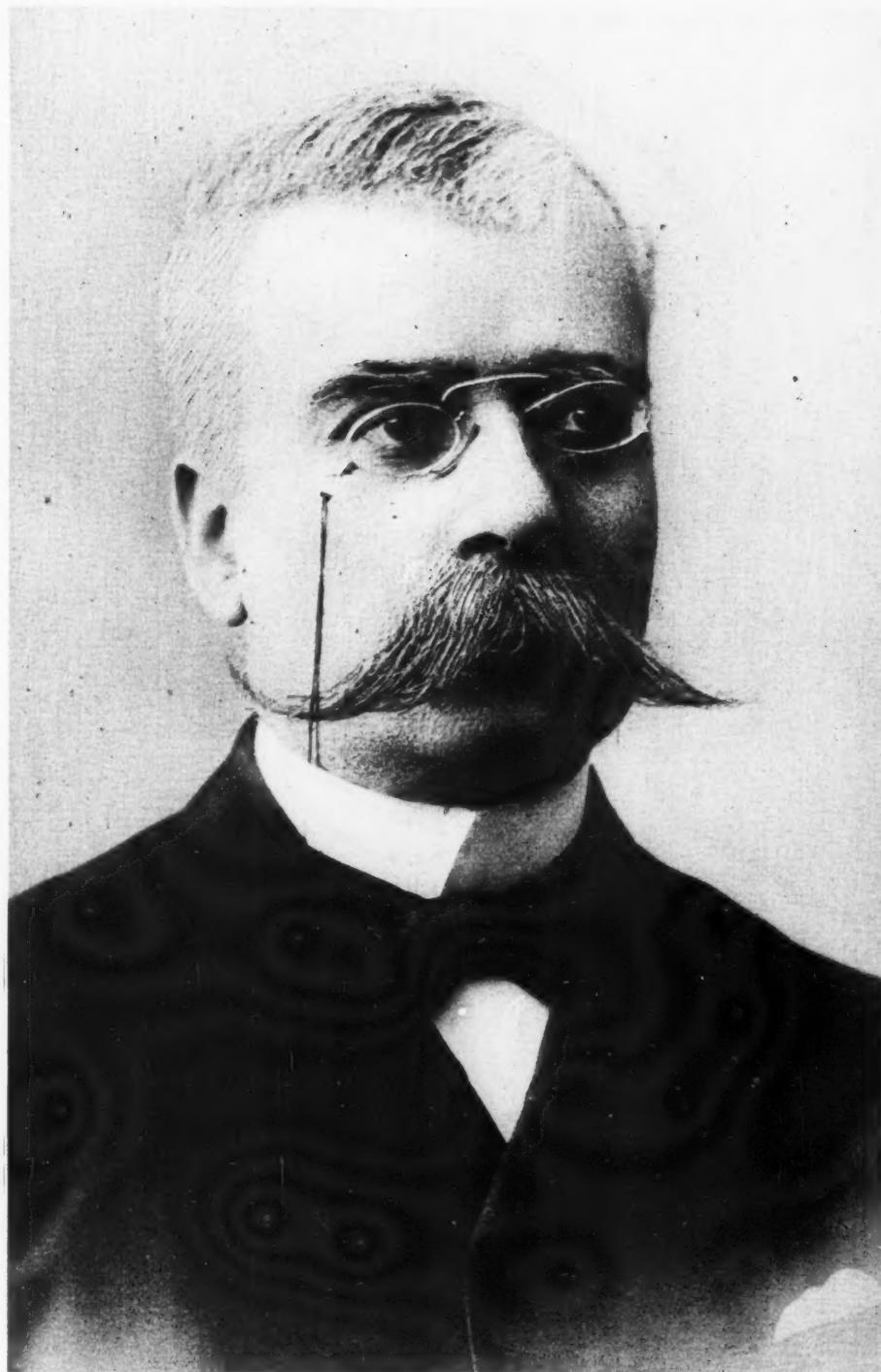
in all their years of public life, have never said a syllable for better housing, infancy, cleaner milk, or the care of adolescence—such men may be the only seers in our midst today; but if so, the age of miracles is not yet past.

Today we have Sir George Newman, at the Board of Education, issuing his invaluable reports, but who compels the authorities to act? I suggest that there is no more poignant national fact today than this—that those who would most freely spend the men are those who have done least to save the children.

Not much can be done now for the immediate emergency. We may have to use some of our unfit, as Germany has long been using hers. But what of the future? In large measure our million rejected are the results, by simple, inevitable natural causation, true today as then, of our neglect of infancy and childhood round about the nineties.

Two-thirds of the children who first enter our London schools are then suffering from preventable defects. The school child, also, has once been younger. From one to five it was what I desire to call the home child, much neglected by the State hitherto, though the chain of life is as weak as its weakest link, and the future soldier may be ruined because we tempted him with drink and evil books at sixteen, or neglected his measles at three, or let his mother work in white lead before he was born. In our now urgent economies let us be sure whether the money under discussion is to buy life or death. Particularly I plead for the universal adoption of those clauses of the Notification of Births (Extension) act which enable us to do something for the home child.





ALEXANDER ZAIMIS
New Prime Minister of Greece, Succeeding Premier Venizelos
(Photo from Bain News Service.)



ADMIRAL VON HOLTZENDORFF

Late Commander of the German High Seas Fleet, Now Head of the German
Naval General Staff, Succeeding Vice Admiral von Bachmann

(Photo from Paul Thompson.)

Darwinism and War

By Sir E. Ray Lankester

Eminent zoologist and ex-President of the British Association, Professor Lankester speaks with authority on the subject of the so-called warlike proclivities of man and the animal kingdom. The subjoined article appeared on Sept. 14, 1915, in *The London Daily Telegraph*.

DARWIN gave as the title of his epoch-making book, published in 1859, "The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; or, the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life." He explains that he uses the terms "struggle for life" and "struggle for existence" in a metaphorical sense, and that, although there is necessarily a competition inevitably imposed by and following from the high rate at which all organic beings tend to increase, there is little or no fighting and individual muscular contest. This, indeed, is obvious when we reflect upon the fact that the whole world of quietly growing plants and thousands of weaponless non-aggressive kinds of animals are included in the so-called "struggle," or "competition."

Nevertheless, from time to time, heedless writers, snapping up, as they imagined, the latest scientific pronouncement in regard to their own pet views as to human conduct, have asserted (as I pointed out in my Romanes lecture at Oxford in 1905) that Darwinism justifies violence and brutality on man's part as a law of nature—the survival of the strong. Others again have denounced Darwin for this justification which he never made, but expressly denied. The most flagrantly foolish of these false prophets of Darwinism is the superficial pamphleteer, the German General Bernhardi, who, writing in defense of the aggressive militarism of his master, (the Kaiser,) says: "Wherever we look in nature we find that war is a fundamental law of development. This great verity, which has been recognized in past ages, has been convincingly demonstrated in modern times by Charles Darwin." Elsewhere he says: "The natural law to which all the laws of nature can be reduced is the law of struggle. * * *

From the first beginning of life war has been the basis of all healthy development. Struggle is not merely the destructive, but the life-giving principle. The law of the stronger holds good everywhere. * * * Might is the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is to be decided by the arbitrament of war. War gives a biologically just decision, since its decision rests on the very nature of things."

There is no basis in fact for this absurd and pernicious statement. It is not true that warfare or any thing resembling it is universal among living things, and that it is the law of nature. Still less is there, as I will show directly, any ground for arguing even if warfare were the general law of animal life that this fact would justify a nation of human beings in carrying on aggressive plunder-seeking war against others, or in adopting the principle of "Might is Right."

I cannot, in passing in review what is known as to animal life, find any instance of habits or procedure on the part of animals which resembles warfare, except the attacks made by certain ants on the nests of other species of ants when they carry off the immature young of the attacked species and rear them as workers in their own habitations. The carnivorous animals, beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, and worms, which prey upon other species—usually herbivorous creatures—cannot be said to make war on these their natural food, any more than a herbivorous animal makes war upon the grass, shrubs, or fruit trees which it consumes. Frequently the food organism possesses powerful horns or kicking hoofs if an animal, or sharp spines and poisonous juices if a plant, which render the task of seizing and devouring it no easy or simple mat-

ter. There is a natural limit to the destruction of these food species by the predatory species. The supply must not be seriously checked, or the predatory animal would starve. A balance is naturally established which results in many cases in the sickly or feeble members only of a herd being eaten, a result which tends to strengthen the stock by the elimination of weaklings. In much the same way, it appears that in many cases a limit is, in the long run, put upon the destructive action of parasites. In any case, though destruction by predatory animals is one of the "molding" causes among many other dangers and obstacles by means of which selection in nature and survival of the fittest are brought about, yet the destructive agencies, whether predatory beasts or storms or drought or other such dangers, are not parties in the struggle for existence—the keen and close competition which Darwin described. It is the unconscious competition between the superabundant individuals of one and the same species—even of one and the same family—to secure safety, nourishment, and mating, and to be the one to escape the destructive noxious agency, whatever its nature, while others perish, which Darwin spoke of as "a struggle for existence."

Actual combat between individuals of the same species is rare, except in regard to the "mating" of certain species of animals, by no means a majority. Stags fight with their antlers for the possession of the does, the fur seals use their teeth in such combats, and the natural weapons, such as large fangs, claws, and horns, possessed by the males only, in many animals, are used as frequently for duels with rival males as for protecting the female and her young from the attacks of carnivorous enemies of totally distinct species. Even some few male fishes fight others of their own species for the possession of the females. On the other hand, where one species has been brought by human traffic from its own area for that inhabited by another species, and has multiplied and to some extent superseded the original native species, as the Continental sewer rat has multiplied in this country

and is now more commonly seen than the native black rat of barns and old houses, there is no evidence that there has been any "fighting" or warfare between the old species and the newcomer. The same is true as to the various species of cockroaches introduced by shipping into this country. They do not attack one another, nor do they attack the native smaller species. In Australia the thylacine or marsupial wolf has vanished and given place to the dingo, a wild dog brought in by the present "black fellows" in prehistoric times. But there is no evidence of "fighting" or "warfare" between the dog and the thylacine, either in Australia or Tasmania. Peaceful penetration, followed by survival of the fitter species, resulting after a long lapse of time in the complete or, perhaps, only partial dying out from the invaded area of the species less favored by the conditions of that area, is what occurs. There has been "competition" and deadly rejection by inexorable Nature of the less fit, but no "struggle" in the sense of fighting, biting and killing one another on the part of the competitors or "candidates for selection."

We now come to the further question as to whether any behavior of certain animals, if shown to lead to their predominance over other animals and to what we may, without prejudice, call the success and prosperity of certain species or tribes of animals, can and should be for that reason adopted by man. It is asserted, as we have seen falsely, that constant warfare, the subjection and destruction of the weak by the violence of "the strong"—not the variously well-fitted who in thousands of diverse ways find their home in the large bosom of Nature, but the mechanically destructively "strong"—is the law of the living world. Even if this were true, which it is not, there is ample reason for rejecting the application to man of a principle arrived at by the consideration of the behavior of the animal world.

It is true that man has slowly developed from ape-like ancestors, which were not "man," and differ from him as all animals differ from him in the absence of a certain life-dominating mental

quality, which is absolutely peculiar to him. From the earliest days of written history man has recognized this difference between himself and animals—"the brutes which perish." Man does not perish because his tradition, his thought and reasoning are handed on by him from generation to generation by oral or by written word. He is not only observant and inquiring, but he has developed in this way an immense memory, a record of the observation and knowledge of past generations of men—what I have called (in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article "Zoology") the Great Record.

But it is not merely this vast memory and still vaster record which distinguishes man. It is that absolutely peculiar and indefinable activity of the mind which we call "consciousness." Without consciousness memory ceases to have more than a limited significance; without memory consciousness is a momentary fleeting thing of no account. But conscious memory gives to man the sense of continuity and of freedom of choice. It is conscious memory which gives man the power of being at once the actor, the spectator, and the critic. It enables man to distinguish between self and not self, and brings with it the sense of responsibility and of reality. It is this which has created that "moral law" within us of which the philosopher Kant said that it and the starry vault above us were the two things which filled his mind with ever-renewed wonder and awe the more often and the more deeply he dwelt on them. Animals do not possess this consciousness except in the most rudimentary way. We have but little knowledge of its gradual development in our ape-like ancestors, in virtue of which they ceased to be brute beasts, and became conscious men. But in the most primitive of existing savage races of man—the Australian black-fellows—we find it in an imperfectly developed state, imperfect in proportion as the power of memory in that race is defective and undeveloped. On the other hand, we can watch (without at present understanding) its graduated but rapid development in a human infant as it passes from the blank negative condition

of birth to the dawning intelligence of childhood.

The qualities acquired by each individual as he grows up in the community into which he is born, through the use and education of his conscious memorizing brain, distinguish the nationalities of mankind from one another. Man receives no knowledge, and only the most elemental mechanisms of instinct, by direct inheritance from his parents. He has to learn everything afresh. On the contrary, animals are born with elaborate instinctive mechanisms, which work when the appropriate stimulus acts upon them, as do the penny-in-the-slot machines when the penny is applied. The new-born foal runs skillfully round his native field; the human infant has to learn by experimental effort even to walk, and later to run. In man what is inherited, that which we say is "in the blood," determines the quality of the rough material, but "training"—education, whether designed or enforced by environment—is the all-powerful and necessary producer of all mental and bodily characteristics and behavior. On the contrary, in lower animals, and to a very large extent in higher ones, all behavior and habits are inherited. Every behavior and accomplishment which we know in our own experience is for us the result of observation, experience, thought, and choice, is in them inherited unconsciously and ready-made—as a trick or mechanism of which the performer has no understanding, and in regard to which it has no choice.

It is this which renders it impossible to interpret or to justify man's behavior whether of individuals or of nations—by a comparison with the unconscious "instinctive" proceedings of animals. The inaggressive frugivorous apes from which man has sprung have not—emphatically not—transmitted to him a compulsory instinct to destroy his fellow men by warfare, nor, on the other hand, have they endowed him with the love of truth, justice, and beauty. It is his own conscious intelligence which has gradually built up a record external to his bodily substance, which is ever increasing, and comprises the noblest thoughts

as well as the memory of the basest deeds of mankind. The knowledge of this great record is given to each generation afresh by the education administered by its elders and leaders. It is on this, and the reasoning based on it, that man has to depend, and not on bodily inheritance of habits and instincts slowly selected by survival of those endowed with them in the blind competition for survival. The "moral law" is an essential and integral part of the deliberate educative process of man. "It is," as Dr. Chalmers Mitchell writes in his admirable essay, "Evolution and the War," "as real and as external to man as the starry vault. It has no secure seat in any single man, or in any single nation. It is the work of the blood and tears of long generations of men. It is not in man, inborn or innate, but it is enshrined in his traditions, in his customs, in his literature and his religion. Its creation and sustenance are the crowning glory of man, and his consciousness of it puts him in

a high place above the animal world. Men live and die, nations rise and fall, but the struggle of individual lives and of individual nations must be measured, not by their immediate needs, but as they tend to the debasement or perfection of this, man's greatest achievement." The Imperial Government of Germany has, to suit its own ambitious purposes, deliberately directed and perverted the education of the German people so as to implant in them a false conception of duty and a debased morality. Such an influence cannot finally prevail. There is in mankind a sense of obligation (due to age-long experience and tradition) to a moral law founded on truth, justice, honor, and loving kindness, which no system of repression and perverted education can permanently eradicate from a population of seventy millions. It rejects absolutely as a vile thing hostile to human progress and happiness the doctrine that "Might is Right."

German Substituted Foods

(From The London Daily Chronicle, Sept. 24, 1915.)

Something instructive regarding the condition of things in Germany may always be learned by a study of the advertisements in a widely circulated newspaper like the *Berliner Tageblatt*. Let us take the advertisements as we meet them. A wholesale dealer in Frankfort-on-the-Main wants large consignments of wooden boot soles. He will pay cash for immediate delivery. The presumption is that leather soles are growing scarce.

One is surprised at the number of substitutes (Ersatz) offered for sale. Artificial jam and marmalade are frequently advertised. A "chemical factory" in Dresden offers to supply fifteen tons of the stuff every week, and seeks travelers to push it. We are not told what artificial jam is. A substitute for "whipped cream" is advertised by another chemical factory in Berlin. The sale of the real cream is forbidden.

When the war broke out beans roasted in a certain way with coffee were largely used as a substitute for coffee. Making a virtue of necessity, the German dealers pointed out how neurotic people might drink a decoction of bean coffee without ill-effects. Now we have a substitute for bean coffee—beans being no longer procurable—called "Krieg-kornfrank." A pound packet of it costs only 6d., and it is highly recommended as "going far" and as very cheap. "It is incumbent on us all to be economical," says the advertiser.

"Gondar" cheese, made of skimmed milk, is a substitute for real cheese. One dealer advertises fifty tons of it. It is slightly flat and crushed, a defect which enables him to offer it at 7d. a pound. Gondar cheese, we are told, is excellent for working people and the poorer classes generally, as it has quite a cheesy taste. We have a substitute for oil for polishing oak floors. It is not oil at all, but it gives a high polish. The same dealer advertises substitutes for glycerine and other household oils.

The pity of advertising in Germany a cheap substitute for beer! And yet this is what "Kulmet" professes to be. There is no alcohol in it. It has a pleasant reminiscent taste of malt, and is the color of the best Munich beer.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed from the Leading Reviews

The remarkable article by J. Ellis Barker on how the United States raised a great conscript army during the civil war, reproduced from *The Nineteenth Century and After*, has received a separate place in this number. But among the reviews of the month are articles by many writers of great distinction, with a good balance between those by advocates of the Entente Powers and those of the Germanic Alliance.

Will the Present War Be the Last?

By Georg Brandes

Dr. Georg Brandes, the noted Danish critic, in "Ukens Revy," published at Christiania, Norway, discusses the European war with main reference to the smaller countries, and answers his own question whether the world war of the present may be the last war. That the author of "Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature," "Shakespeare," and numerous other works of international renown holds no illusions in that respect may be seen from his article which reads in part:

THE positions of the three Scandinavian countries cannot be considered identical during the unforeseen world war of the present time.

It is quite true that they are neutral, but that is largely because nothing else would do under the circumstances. Participation in the war would at once endanger their very existence, and from no quarter has there been offered them sufficient compensation to risk taking part.

In Norway, where from olden time sympathy for England and France has been pronounced, it is possible that the leaning toward these powers is the most pronounced. Nevertheless, not a few of the intellectuals, whose books are published in German, champion passionately the cause of Germany. That Sweden fears Russia, which has torn to pieces Finland's Constitution and has overrun the Swedish land with Russian spies, is little to be wondered, and the sympathies of Sweden are almost entirely with Germany.

Denmark stays neutral for the simple reason that it is but a short run from Kiel to Danish territory, and we Danes, in case peaceful relations were broken off, might expect the German fleet in front of Copenhagen in a couple of hours.

Only at the risk of committing suicide can Denmark, with its two and a half million inhabitants, challenge a world power like Germany. That stands to reason without any further explanation. And let us not forget that it is just fifty years since Denmark took up battle with the two powers that now, as then, are allies, Prussia and Austria. Denmark fought for half a year without the slightest aid of a single European power. It shows the lack of foresight on the part of diplomats that England and France permitted Germany to seize the Kiel harbor and to tear from Denmark two-fifths of the country's area without as much as raising a finger to prevent this.

Since then, North Schleswig has been governed as Prussia governs all foreign nationalities — through prohibiting the use of the Danish language in church and school; prohibiting the employment of Danish national colors, even in women's costumes; exiling many; with numerous annoyances that even went so far as to take children away from their parents in case they were suspected of educating the children with a view of making them incline toward Denmark. The German Reichstag has voted considerable sums toward buying up Danish land in Schleswig, exactly as in the case of Polish soil

in Posen. And now the young Schleswigers must fight and bleed in the German ranks of a country by which they are treated as scapegoats.

Strong reasons, therefore, prevent Danish sentiment from being friendly to the German cause. On the other hand, admiration for Germany's efficiency is very great. If it is a fact that the intellectuals are no more inclined toward the Entente Allies than toward Germany, then it is because the allied powers in no wise can be considered an entity, no matter what may be the exertion to disprove the differences that separate them.

The understanding and the intuitive insight of the masses has never been anything but a democratic legend. The masses generally believe anything that is presented in a skillful manner.

Regarding the question whether this is to be the last war, it is of interest to examine the newspapers of France during the war of 1870-71. The striking feature of the journalism of that day was that "it was comforting to know that this war would be the last." Since then have followed a dozen bloody wars, until now the biggest of all wars has lasted for more than a year. And again we

hear the imbecile refrain in article upon article, in country after country, "it is comforting to know that this war will be the last." Therefore, we are to believe that very soon human nature will change entirely; its overwhelming stupidity will turn into quiet good sense, its immense degree of wildness will become co-operative good-will.

The war reveals everything. Beneath the superficiality of civilization is found a wild man who in all essentials compares with what the Stone Age might exact. During the intervals between wars mankind imagines that the world is settled in peace and that wars are no longer possible. Since it is considered necessary to maintain an optimistic attitude in order to endure existence, optimism is made a chief virtue for the purpose of keeping courage and strength alive. Mankind does not seem to desire to look the facts squarely in the face. If, notwithstanding all optimistic denials to the contrary, wars break out, then optimism tries to comfort the battling ones with the words that the present struggle will bring with it the reign of justice and that therefore the war must be the final one.

"Cannon! Munitions!"

By Charles Humbert

IN *La Revue*, Paris, double number for Aug. 15 and Sept. 1, Charles Humbert, Senator from the Department of the Meuse, has an important article, entitled "Cannon! Munitions!" Senator Humbert, as a member of the Senatorial Commission on the Army, was one of the leading forces in changing the policy of the Government from one of concentrating attention on the size of the army to that of bringing its equipment, particularly in the matter of artillery, to a point of superiority over that of the enemy. He says:

The character the present war has taken has been a surprise and a disappointment for many minds, quite particularly for professional strategists. * * * We are past the day of romantic struggles, of the

determining ability of the great captains, of brilliant onslaughts, and the decisive charges in which, formerly, the fate of a country was decided. War has become a colorless and mechanical work, accomplished by its reinforcement of machinery. It obeys elements that no one dreamed of before. * * * Between the battles of the time of Louis XIV., those of the first empire and those of 1870 there is certainly much less difference than between the last named and those of 1914-1915. * * * Every day brings in some innovation. The Germans have recently introduced the employment of flaming liquids and asphyxiating gases, and I see in them no other dishonesty than that of using them after they had engaged themselves not to do so; they are not arms more terrible or more destructive than those that the usages of war have authorized. * * *

It is quite true that in this terrible con-

flit Germany had taken a considerable lead over her adversaries. She believed in the war, because she wanted it, and had prepared for it with minute care. She had certainly understood it better than we, and imaged it to herself with greater exactitude. * * * Since 1911, especially since the events of Agadir, she had been working with a sort of frenzy to renew her heavy artillery completely; she had planned to introduce on the battlefield mortars and long cannon of great range. * * * Happily, despite all her minuteness and foresight, Germany had calculated her aggression badly.

The writer continues by describing the interior policy of Germany after the unexpected check she received in her attack on Paris. Putting herself on the defensive, she gave her main attention to war industries and "by a prodigy of discipline and organization" was able to renew and augment her artillery and

reach a production of shells calculated as being between 250,000 and 400,000 a day! Meanwhile, France had realized that her problem would be the same, but she had done so less clearly. Much therefore remained to be changed after the war was in progress. He adds:

Today the re-arrangement is made, and all our workshops and arms factories, all our accessory industries are awaking as fast as one could desire them to. * * * The coalition of the forces of the countries at war with Germany can leave no doubt of their success, but one must not imagine that the work to be accomplished is a matter of a few weeks. * * * The united metallurgical industries of England and France can assure us a superior production of munitions to that of Austria-Germany. * * * All the trumps are in the hands of the Allies in this terrible game. Only a shameful incapacity could prevent their playing them victoriously to the end.

Reconstruction of Destroyed Cities

By Frantz Jourdain

IT has been claimed for Germany that while the Allies are preparing for further war, she is preparing for peace. In *La Revue*, Paris, Aug. 15-Sept. 1, one of the most distinguished of French architects, M. Frantz Jourdain, shows that in one of the fields in which his country is pre-eminent, France is already thinking out her future. M. Jourdain is President of the *Salon d'Automne*. He says:

The mystic symbol of the phoenix reborn from its ashes softens despair and rocks human distress as in a cradle. Since death engenders life, since the flowers opening on the tombs drive sadness from the cemeteries, we have the right to think that the frightful cyclone that has prostrated our gentle France can give a new youth to the country, and that this time, once again good will come out of evil.

The dwellings, factories, school houses, and churches must be rebuilt. At first the work seems overpoweringly complex and difficult; it will not be found so if a "clear and rational program" is followed.

First of all, it is a time for us to get rid of the dangerous pedagogy which, for more than a century, has falsified tempera-

ments, reduced imaginations to one level, destroyed initiative, imposed a foreign influence contrary to the instincts of our race and tried to replace originality with the lesson learned by heart. * * * Let us think of our ancestors of the Middle Ages, who went begging neither to Greece nor to Italy when they wanted to strew our soil with the most luxuriant flowers of granite and stone that humanity has ever beheld.

Before the vast problem to be solved the way must be left open for work suited to each of the different localities of France, so different in their characters. No one model should be established, but as much as possible the architects and artisans of each place should dictate the forms. "Centralization, like speculation, would work irreparable disasters."

Our duty will be not only to repair but to prepare for the future. It is here perhaps that we come to the most delicate point in the question, for logic will probably impose some painful sacrifices on archaeology. For example, to widen a road which was more than sufficient for the carts and infrequent carriages of former days, but dangerous for the incessant traffic of automobiles, shall we not find ourselves compelled to suppress a farm, or a cottage whose charm delighted the

tourist? Once more, we shall encounter cases for which our artists will certainly know how to find the happiest solution. * * * They will not wall themselves in, clumsily, with an uncompromising fetishism which would forbid them, against

public interest, to suppress the smallest building-stone, devoid of any aesthetic interest, solely because that stone is old and salt-petered. * * * Let us remember the aphorism pronounced by Michelet, the great French writer: "Evolve or perish."

On the Eastern Front—In Mesopotamia

By H. Denin

IN the *Revue Hebdomadaire*, (Aug. 21,) M. H. Denin, a French traveler who knows accurately the wild country of which he writes, describes at considerable length the commercial and military value of the ancient lands on the Euphrates and Tigris, running down to the Persian Gulf.

* * * If the loss of men, on one side and the other, is very small because of the numerical weakness of the contending armies, (in Mesopotamia,) the importance of the stake is enormous; for it is a question, for England, of adding to the future possession of Arabia, coveted by her: First, the conquest of 55,000 square kilometers of land, which can be brought back to their legendary fertility by irrigation whose estimated cost is 500,000,000 francs, (note, these 55,000 square kilometers make up only about one-tenth of the land England will claim when peace is signed;) second, the exploitation of petroleum wells extending over a length of

more than 400 kilometers and to an average depth of 70 kilometers, the exploitation being subject to; third, the organization beforehand and necessary populating of vast regions which are desert wastes at present. The advantage for the security of India is inappreciable, but it must be foreseen.

* * * Although the fate of this English campaign in Mesopotamia is in no doubt and it is not bold to predict already its successful ending, it will never be more than an operation subordinated to those of Europe. * * * It will show, in any case that: First, legitimacy of possession is refused to peoples who can not or will not make use of their agricultural and mineral resources; they must make way for others in the general interest; second, that the Mussulmans are very much in this state; and third, that a population of 50,000,000 men may live in Mesopotamia, whose inexhaustible food resources are guaranteed by the natural fertility of the soil, and whose buying capacity is assured to its people by the regularity, healthiness, and value that labor will have there.

International Law and Naval Warfare

By E. Bertin

IN the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* for the 15th of August, M. E. Bertin of the Académie des Sciences has a long and carefully documented article on the future of international law. He takes up points in its history relating to naval warfare and considers the effect of the events of the present war on the work of The Hague Conventions.

Among the ruins made by the war, there is one that should be repaired without more delay. It is the ruin of international law, for which the conferences of The Hague worked to raise a monument on the base laid down sixteen years ago by the Emperor of Russia, for the honor of humanity and the common interest of

peoples. The restoration is urgent; it must be made while the cannon roars because it will thus assure to the edifice the solidity and stability it lacked and which—we can say after experiment—the work accomplished during the leisure of peace is powerless to give it. The task of restoration is incumbent on the neutrals, and on them alone. They are the judges of the camp. It is for them to declare what the signatures of nations at the foot of international acts are worth. Their declaration will prevail for the present and the future.

M. Bertin goes on to examine in detail the questions of piracy and of blockades. He reviews the provisions made at The Hague for the visiting of ships

in war time, shows wherein violations have occurred and how the advent of the submarine has rendered necessary the changing of certain definitions and policies of naval combat. He then proceeds to the question of contraband, particularly cotton. For a long time Germany has had to depend entirely on re-provisioning through neutral countries for cotton, from which to manufacture explosives. The international problems resulting from the stopping of such traffic are obvious. Without effective measures to strengthen an international tribunal, the work done at the Congresses from 1899 to 1907 will be lost and its principles will have to be abandoned. M. Bertin believes that the war itself will keep the world from permitting so sombre a misfortune:

If the conventions have succeeded neither in softening the rigors of warfare nor even in keeping it within the limits recognized for centuries, the setback is due solely to their silence on one capital point, that of sanctions. In the eyes of the professional jurist the absence of the sanction may even annul a law. Did the delegates to The Hague fear to raise a doubt of the resolution of their respective Governments to honor their signatures? Such an illusion would have been surprising; it is dissipated, in any case. There will be no more conventions without sanctions suited to make them respected. It is here that neutrals can assure the future by saying their final word now—which they have never said before. * * * Whoever has faith in international law is following with passionate interest the diplomatic duel engaged between Washington and Berlin. (M. Bertin then speaks of the tone of President Wilson's notes with respectful admiration, and sees in his attitude great hope for the future.)

The Trentino and the Northern Boundary

By Giovanni Oberziner

IN the *Nuova Antologia* for Aug. 1, Giovanni Oberziner, who has been studying the questions of the Trentino for more than thirty years, gives the first paper of a series on "The Trentino and the Northern Boundary of Italy."

It is not simply a platonic affirmation of ancient and modern geographers, nor a rhetorical concept of poets, that the high summit of the Alps is, all through the north, the boundary of Italy. But it is now, and was from ancient times so firmly rooted in the popular consciousness, that as long ago as 183 B. C. the Roman Senate, with this in mind, ordered certain barbarians—who had descended from the north and wanted to found a city in the region of Friuli—to recross the Alps immediately. Titus Livius observes, (39, 54,) that the Roman Senate took its energetic decision not because, already, it was afraid of this handful of barbarians, who came in humble mood to seek an asylum, but because it wanted the world to know that in Rome the Alps were considered the true defense of Italy, as a barrier not to be crossed under any circumstances by the peoples living on its northern slope.

There are now, however, points where the natural boundary does not coincide with the political boundary. This is the case in the Canton of Ticino, in Poschiavo, the basin of the Upper Adige, for the Trentino with the contiguous upper

valleys of Cordevale, (Livinallongo,) and Bolte, (Ampezzo,) not to speak of the region of Gorizia and Istria, where regions geographically and linguistically Italian have the grief of being cut off from the body of the common mother.

The writer proceeds to examine, with a wealth of detail, the historical status of the localities above mentioned in ancient and mediaeval times. His second chapter is on the ethnographical aspect of the question, but before touching on this he gives part of a speech made by Mazzini in 1866, observing "current events demonstrate, as nothing else could, the truth in these fateful sentences of the great Genoese thinker":

Accepting then, oh, Italians, the peace with which you are threatened, you will not only place a seal of shame on the brow of the nation, you will not only vilely betray your brothers of Istria, of Friuli, and the Trentino, you will not only cut off for many years any future worthy of Italy—condemning it to be a third-rate power in Europe, not only will you lose all the confidence of the nations and all initiatory influence with them, but you yourselves will hang over your heads the sword of Damocles of foreign invasion. And this sword of Damocles means for you the impossibility of diminishing your army; which brings with the impossibility of

economy the uncertainty of everything, absence of confidence on the part of the capitalists, absence of all peaceful, secure development of industrial life, progressive diminution of credit, progressive increase of disadvantages, impossibility of remedy,

economic ruin and bankruptcy; it means—for not all of you will resign yourselves to this—perennial, increasing agitation; party discord more angry than ever; civil war in a more or less remote time—but an inevitable one.

The Raising Up of Belgium

By Maggiorino Ferraris

IN the *Nuova Antologia*, Senator Maggiorino Ferraris, director of the admirable review, has an article on "The Raising Up of Belgium." He gives a detailed study of Belgium, its civilization and place in the family of nations, and tells why Italy has an especial sympathy with her.

Emile Vandervelde, the illustrious chief of Socialism in Belgium and one of the greatest personalities of the modern social movement, has made a brief visit to Upper Italy, speaking especially at Turin and Milan. * * *

"We were a small people," Vandervelde said splendidly at Turin, "and in the manner of the happy peoples, we were almost without history. We asked to live in peace, as we had the right to. We had to choose between peace and honor. We preferred honor."

At the beginning of the war, and in spite of the reservedness counseled by neutrality—which our country always loyally kept—the national conscience was almost unanimous in judging Germany's invasion of Belgium as a grave and unjustifiable violation of international law, of the liberty and independence of peoples. Today, while our brave troops are fighting in the Alps by the side of the allied

nations, there is only one sentiment throughout the Italian people as regards this war, from which there should arise for Europe a more intense era of liberty, and law among nations, and social well-being for the peoples. Only at this price should we face to the end the brutal conflict, and on the ruins of imperialism and militarism take up, indefatigable and unremitting, the tormented question of international repairs and the uplifting of the people.

At the head of these noble ideals of right, of civilization and thought stood Belgium, before the war. The small, quiet laborious, housekeeping country seemed to have consecrated its undaunted moral energies and its great material riches to an intense work of labor, peace, and social regeneration. From the fruitful fields, proud of a magnificent agriculture celebrated by Lavergne—the great agrarian economist of our youth—to commerce, to the offices, to the soil furrowed by innumerable railways and interminable canals—all seemed inextricably mingled in a hymn to progress. * * * Such was Belgium before the war, * * * and from the smoking ruins, today, arises—unquenchable—the cry for political and civil redress which our epoch cannot abandon without belittling itself before the greatest and noblest traditions of right and civilization.

Italians and the War

By G. Prezzolini

LA VOCE of Florence is certainly the favorite review of the important group of philosophers, poets, and critics who demand above all progress and independence as the keynote of Italian thought. Sig. G. Prezzolini, one of the most powerful of these writers, has a letter to the editor of *La Voce*, which is published under the title of "We and the War."

Dear de Robertis:—I write you immediately after reading the last *Voce*, the same evening. What a fine number, and how much good it did me to read it—in war time! It reminds me of certain people who said to me, "why keep up a literary review in war time, at such a serious moment!" as if art were not a serious thing, and thought—and liberty!

Sig. Prezzolini draws up a list of themes to be dwelt on in the review: Third Point—To prepare, order, and win

a battle is a work that demands genius, and there is no doubt that a great General is a genius, as a statesman is; but it is well to recall in these times that a great poet, a great critic, or a great painter is not less great or less necessary to a nation than a great General, if it wants to count for something in the history of the world. And these commonsense truths, always true, are so much the more true, I make bold to say, now; because one is more tempted to forget them. Hence the utility of a "literary" review today, and the laudable courage to keep it up in this moment when it is easy to take for lack of patriotism this recalling of superior values.

Fourth Point—Down with the Germans! surely; but let us not fall, as today the French are tending to, into a facile contempt—and let us not throw ourselves into a still more facile driving out—of everything German. I read in a newspaper the letter of a man who wanted German operas taken from our repertory, as the Germans have taken from theirs the works of the Italians—Giordano, Puccini, and Leoncavallo. I don't know that man, but he can have only a mean and low spirit. Such passions, which gross and barbarous nationalists express, are the kind that would diminish us and impoverish our patrimony. Those who harbor them are often the very people who but yesterday were on their knees before "Kultur." These are dangerous phenomena to which

our people, fortunately, does not seem inclined. I do not see bestial hate in Italy. Our war has been the finest one of Europe because it was an act of liberty, of choice, of judgment. It was not born of the drunkenness of pride, like the German war, nor from necessity as was the case in France. We must not let it degenerate. Let us know to distinguish between the bestial Germany of today and the teacher of mankind of yesterday. The thing is elementary. Luther, Kant, Hegel, Goethe, belong to the patrimony of the spirit. We want to kill the Germans. We do not want to kill ourselves. We are forced to fight with our bodies. We do not intend at all to humiliate our minds—nor those of the others either. The war we are carrying on will be of profit to us, and let us hope that profit to Germany will come of it as well. We should hope that she will face about and make amends and return to her origins and re-create herself. * * *

Fifth Point—In the effort for harmony and confidence that we must make, let us take care not to lose certain virtues we have and which some insatiable idiots would have pass for defects; I mean the spirit of criticism and individuality. Yes, I am glad of organization, discipline, &c., but I do not think for that reason that we should lose our right to examine either what the Government has done or what it ought to do. * * *

"D'Annunzio Has Spoken"

By Giuseppe de Robertis

THE editor of *La Voce*, Giuseppe de Robertis, in an article entitled "d'Annunzio Has Spoken," expresses the sentiment of the generation which has outlived the taste for d'Annunzio's style, and reproves the rhetoric he indulged in at the outbreak of the war.

* * * Let us not mention Carducci, who was a master in everything, who spent his life in educating, directing, and forming Italy, and who gave it conscience again and a sense of discipline, which we have put in the scales today, to be weighed. He spent his life in the work and used up so much strength in it that he was sometimes worn out when he turned to his poetry, and so was punished in his art.

Had he not written the great historic odes, we should have known just the same where to find the master of our youth, the man to form our first consciousness as a nation and to give us wise discipline. We should have seen the master through the

example of his life, through his having accepted his place and his part in the world, his having reconstituted the sense of living things—which helped us at that time to recognize ourselves, to discover ourselves as men, as persons present to ourselves with a solid beginning of elementary orientation.

The difference between him and a d'Annunzio is clear to eyes even of blind men. D'Annunzio gives us literary felicity, with less of passion and torment than of grammatical and erudite experience. He was a dandy, and when he wanted to be a barbarian the essential and elementary qualities fled away from him—to the exaggeration of the other more low and degenerative ones. * * *

We knew that d'Annunzio was waiting to come to Italy, almost in triumph. There was lacking to his first day here that solemnity which his pride had perhaps led him to hope for—with the King, Salandra, and all the ancient Senate. But he made up for the humiliation. Instead he talked ten times. He can consider himself satis-

fied—Italy has acclaimed him the poet of her greatest war. * * *

And we wanted to enter it without rhetoric, modestly, without wakening the customary ancient memories. We wanted to do it as one who knows he must measure with short steps his patience and sacrifice, gaining ground point by point, conquering by mind more than by heroism. It is a war of intelligence—our war.

We did not expect from d'Annunzio any words like these. We only hoped he would keep silent. A man such as he has nothing to say in such matters, of which he has never known anything. And once again he has forgotten his place—and just to say something, to accompany the events

—like a guitar, with the most banal and hackneyed chords. * * *

He has to go back to the Greeks and the Romans. * * * He recalled the accustomed names, and Garibaldi and the Garibaldians—from whom we are so far in this mathematical war. He called the commonest men heroes. He has denied the best part of himself. * * *

We have become more expert, more precise, we have interrogated ourselves so often; and we have thrown away the things we are through with. We see things in their universal relations. We are fighting not for Trento, Trieste, and all Dalmatia, but for civilization.

Sensitive Holland

By Paul Rache

Paul Rache, who is the Amsterdam correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, points out in the article translated below wherein Germany has failed to appreciate the position of the Dutch people as an independent nation.

THE expression, "Holland is Dutch," may at first glance look like a cheap joke, or at least seem superfluous. But only at a first glance. It is advisable that we in Germany view Holland as it actually is, and as it wants to appear, and not in the light that we have observed it during the past twenty years.

This would be to our own interest, and to the interest of Holland. Very often the old by-word, which annoys Holland and the Dutch people, no matter how well it is meant, has caused suspicion and caused them to withdraw themselves. The ancient expression about "kindred" Holland, with its language in "reality German," or "as good as German"—which leans upon its big brother—this expression ought to be thrown upon the junk heap. One can do the German cause no greater harm than by reminding the Hollander, as is being done constantly today, that as a matter of fact he "belongs to us."

We can only reach a better understanding with Holland, and Holland will then only approach us in a more friendly spirit, when we accustom ourselves to appreciate better the characteristics of the Dutch people, and to emphasize this; to

accept the individual nationality; to look upon them as *Hollanders*, and not as *Low Germans*, or as of *German kinship*. This may not be so easy. It may go against the German grain. But it is absolutely necessary; it is nothing more nor less than political wisdom.

We must reckon with the fact that just at this time, when German nationalism finds such widespread expression, the nationalistic feeling of others must be considered. We should know why just on this account Holland finds itself injured, when, no matter how well intentioned the purpose, it is looked at in a different light. Holland is, it is true, neither English nor French. But neither is it German. The country is nothing less than Dutch, and that to the marrow.

We must know the Dutch with their justified pride in their glorious past; their great historical rôle, their splendid culture; one should understand how today the national consciousness is so deep-rooted in order to comprehend why they are nothing else than Dutch. Exactly because Holland has ceased to play a conspicuous part in world politics the country lives more in the glory of the past. The people are sensitive when rudely reminded that this is a

changed world. It is necessary to enter into the other's position and feeling to find out why the German approaches do not find the readiest acceptance with the Hollander. It is also essential to take into consideration that there has been entirely too much foolish talk and writing by our nationalists. In illustration of what is being done to injure us can be cited the flood of pamphlets of a certain sort concerning Dutch relations. This, notwithstanding the fact that it has been made public in Holland that in no sense has this kind of literature any connection with Germany's national politics.

To bring about a better feeling between the two countries we must get to know each other better. We must appreciate to a much greater extent than in the past the characteristics of the Dutch; they will then get accustomed to look upon us as we really are. Then there will be no longer any foolish fear of annexation. The outstretched hand will be grasped heartily, and not suspiciously, as now.

It may not be amiss at just this time to call to mind our attitude toward the Boers during their war of liberation against England. We at that time, let it be said, much to the surprise of the Dutch, made the Boers' cause our own, and with our whole soul we threw ourselves into the battles that were fought by General Botha; the same Botha whom the English and the Boers now glorify as the conqueror of Germany's Southwest African possessions. That war taught us a great many things; showed us just how far we ought to go with policies built on sentiment. This experience should not be lost on us in our present and future dealings with Holland.

How ill-informed Germany in reality is regarding the attitude of Holland is shown in an article by Julius Bachem in the *Algemeinen Rundschau*, where it reads that one of the "saddest surprises" for Germany has been the fact that during this war Dutch public opinion has evidenced so little friendliness; in fact, has been quite unfriendly. Here,

again, we may refer back to the old by-word about kinship. In Germany it was taken for granted that Holland, considering the relationship, could not be other than pro-German; hence, the "surprise." There is no present need for recalling what impression was made on Holland when the Germans entered Belgium; an impression that had nothing to do with the campaign of falsification that was being conducted by the English and the French, and which caused the acceptance of every story about German misdeeds.

No, Holland is not pro-German; that is, in so far as it concerns the masses; no more so has it ever been anti-German. And this is something that we always seem to forget. I can only repeat, the Hollander is too specifically Dutch in his nationality to permit his sympathy or antipathies to carry him either one way or another. We should not be misguided because, perhaps, the French war pictures in the moving picture theatres are heartily applauded, or because the handorgans in the streets of Amsterdam play "Tipperary" to the accompaniment of singing or whistling by young girls and boys. Such superficial observations ought not to be considered criterions.

Holland is not pro-German, but, on the other hand, neither is it anti-German; at least the Germans in the country are not aware of the fact. The Hollander knows how to keep his feelings to himself. He is, besides, scrupulous in his idea of what hospitality stands for. Under what may be considered the most painful circumstances, the Dutch Government has seen its way to maintain its neutrality in a most masterly manner. The average Hollander has supported the Government in that respect. This fact must be acknowledged by the Germans. Even if now and then there has appeared a "war party," the Dutch are not inclined that way. It is true that for a while there was some talk in the newspapers whether it would not be just as well for Holland to take an active part in the war as to remain passive until the end and confront the consequences. But now there

is hardly a sound heard of that sort of talk. The people are preparing for the future.

In Germany it is taken for granted that after the war Holland and all Dutch interests will take a more intimate turn

toward the Fatherland. Holland is not quite ready to admit all this, but if we expect to have our desire realized we must first of all begin by appreciating the Dutch nationality, the individualism of the people.

Turkey and Her Partners

Skillful Diplomacy in Constantinople and Berlin

The semi-official Turkish newspaper, *Tanin*, of Constantinople, recently contained an editorial article dealing with the mutual benefits expected as a result of linking the interests of the Osman empire with Germany. It has been reproduced by the *Kölnische Zeitung*.

IN sending Prince von Hohenlohe to Constantinople to replace Baron von Wangenheim, who is ill, and also by dispatching the former Grand Vizier, Hakki Pasha, to Berlin, as the new Ambassador, both Governments give positive proof that they attach the utmost importance to having representatives of the first rank in the respective capitals.

At the time the Constitution was introduced in Turkey, Germany's influence met with a considerable amount of opposition. It was not unnatural, considering that previous to the adoption of the Constitution, a close intimacy existed between German interests and those high personalities who, with the deposition of the Sultan, no longer counted. Through this transition, greater importance was given English and French friendship, but, where a clever diplomacy might have brought itself profit by taking immediate advantage of the ticklish situation in the empire, the English preferred to meet the Turkish approaches with cold indifference. Neither did the politics of France tend to improve the opportunity.

A further hindrance to Turkey's friendship for Germany rested in Austria-Hungary's absorption of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Tripoli affair, involving Germany's other partner in the Triple Alliance, Italy, did not help matters. Yet, all these handicaps have been overcome by German friendliness,

until gradually this attitude has won its way and led up to the present alliance.

We regret that this attachment has arrived so late, and are of the opinion that the same feeling exists in both Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Osmanic Government realized fully its precarious position in relation to the two powerful groups in Europe, and it has felt its isolation. This must be assigned as the reason why first it leaned toward the Triple Alliance, then toward the Triple Entente. But as its indecision remained, neither the former nor the latter group looked with any special favor on joining hands with Turkey. It appeared, indeed, as if the Turkish Nation was looked upon as a disturbing element which, under the existing conditions, would prove a burden instead of a benefit to any one entering into a compact. Whatever wish Turkey may have had to connect itself one way or another, the unspoken answer was something to the effect that the time was not yet ripe.

There is no question that, so far as Turkey is concerned, an arrangement with powerful partners has been a necessity. In no other way could it expect to solve the internal problems, to set in order its own house, to gain strength with which to elevate itself. So long as Turkey stood alone it would not be possible to establish needed reforms, to get the money necessary for carrying out its plans. If today the Turkish Nation is

unable to offer its allies the greatest amount of assistance possible, this is because the country has not had the opportunity to get ready. In spite of the fact that Turkey was entirely unprepared to enter the alliance, in four theatres of war it is confronted by close to a million soldiers, and yet it is able to lend valuable aid to the Germans, the Austrians, and the Hungarians.

The time when Germany and Austria-Hungary should have turned to Turkey and reaped the advantage of such a move was when the Balkan war gave the Osmanic nation its greatest trial. Then German and Austrian diplomacy would have amounted to much. But evidently, no one realized the slumbering power inherent in the people. At any rate, no one thought that the Turkey of the future held any promise. When the fateful wars brought the country to its knees no one cared.

All this is now a matter of the past. But the past must teach us how to gain profit from experience. That the affairs of great countries now rest in the hands

of skillful diplomats in both Constantinople and Berlin is a token of the earnestness with which the future is anticipated. It is necessary that we look on this as something of the greatest significance.

When Turkey joined the Teutonic people it had not had the benefit of a long period of peace. But we give readily of what we have to offer now, trusting that when the war is over we also will reap some benefit. To build for the future we must begin now on a foundation that shall strengthen the bonds between the parties. After the war it follows that the economic and financial connections will grow in importance. Let be that Turkey has its own interests in view. It will remain true to its friends and offer itself in the service of them all. It is to be hoped that nothing will happen to shake the mutual confidence of the present. It is a favorable sign that, in the eyes of the Germans, Turkey is now looked upon as an equal in the bond that has been created.

Social Democracy and the Great War

By Gustav Bang

Belief is strong that Social Democrats in all countries will reunite quickly following the present conflict. Gustav Bang, writing in *Social-Democraten*, the official mouthpiece for the party in Denmark, tells what ought to be done to conserve the interests of Social Democracy in Europe, now and later.

THE period that sets in with the closing of the war will exact much of Social Democracy in the now warring countries, as well as in those maintaining their neutrality. Greater problems than any that have heretofore confronted Social Democratic parties will then have to be met and solved.

It is to be observed that in many and different directions opportunities will present themselves for a strengthened, a suddenly developed social, political, and cultural advance in close agreement with the interests of the working classes, the aims of Social Democracy. It is easy to name three widely separated is-

sues where such development may be expected. It is beyond dispute that militarism, which during recent decades has sucked the very life blood of the European nations, will be greatly limited, and, if not at once, in a not far distant future, will be completely eliminated. There can be no denial that not only must Russian autocracy—that fastness for all reaction in Europe—at last go down, but that elsewhere in the European countries constitutional rights must be thoroughly democratized and political influence placed squarely in the hands of the common voter. Again, it is indisputable that among those people where united action among the proletariat is as yet a

new thing there will arise a critical examination of present methods of production, and a strong respect for, a lively sympathy with, Social Democratic ideals undoubtedly will assert themselves.

In all these directions are visible manifold possibilities. But each such step ahead brings with it consequences the effects of which no man can foretell. We know, however, that the working classes must gain both moral and material benefit from that which is in prospect, and that the class system cannot prevail against such assembled forces.

But let us not forget, all this is but a tendency; possibilities, realization of which depends upon the efficient work, the amount of energy, solidarity that Social Democracy will be able to marshal when this war comes to an end. No historical development ever took place automatically, but through the carefully planned, secure aims of individual classes that knew what they were after. Development creates at various periods a more or less favorable condition for the advancement of ideals. To what extent a condition may be made use of depends on the amount of material and moral strength that the class in question can command. Immense opportunities will be at the disposal of the masses at the end of the war, opportunities for the workers in all fields and in the direction of politics, economics, and education. But, if at the last moment the commonalty halts, if it stands hesitatingly weak and vacillating, because of inner differences, the chances will be lost. What Social Democracy must do while the war lasts is to make ready for the greatest possible development and assertion of its power after the war.

The first essential that, with no uncertain sound, calls for notice, is the re-establishment of international co-operation between the economic and political organizations in the different countries. Of course, only at the conclusion of the war will it be possible to gather the torn strands. But wherever it is possible to keep the common interest alive this ought to be done. It is the duty of Social Democracy in all the neutral lands to prepare the ground for a quick and com-

plete reuniting among themselves and the countries at war and between the warring nations themselves.

It is to be granted that there will be difficulties in the way for the re-establishing of the relationships that existed before the war, but we must not overestimate these difficulties. Instead of the artificial nationalism that this war has created, class distinction will come to the fore. Without regard for country, workers everywhere will be compelled to stand shoulder to shoulder. Chauvinistic sentiment may get time in which to spend itself, but in so far as it concerns the great majority of the working people, the moment they are confronted with problems that concern them alone all interests will centre in the battle for existence.

It is not so impossible that even while the war continues, that is, when the outcome will become somewhat better visualized, the position of the proletariat will undergo a change in the one or other country now party to the struggle. This has happened before. Take the war of 1870. In the beginning the war was popular among the German working people. In France, the workers and others with liberal tendencies appeared cool to the demands for a great war. But the moment the French Empire fell and Germany no longer hid its plan to annex Alsace and Lorraine, sentiment on both sides of the Rhine changed about. The French workers entered with enthusiasm in the struggle for the defense of their country, while, on the part of the German workingmen a strong protest arose against the continuance of the war. Similar changes are not at all impossible while the present war is on.

At any rate, it is misleading to say that because of what happened to the old "Internationale" after the Franco-German war we also ought to conclude that the identical fate awaits similar organizations of the present day. When the International Workingmen's Association wrote finis to its existence at The Hague Congress of 1872, this was not due to the preceding war, but as a result of the internal dissolution that a long time before had set in owing to the gradually



A RECENT PORTRAIT OF DR. KARL HELFFERICH
Secretary of the German Imperial Treasury, Who Negotiated the Third
German War Loan
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)



GENERAL VON EICHORN
Of the German Army Staff, Who Assailed the Forts of Kovno on the Dvina
Line
(Photo from Paul Thompson.)

increasing differences between Socialists and Anarchists—a dissolution which pointedly showed that this form of organization had seen its best days and had fulfilled its mission. The aim of the old "Internationale" was to awaken the workers in the various countries to the meaning of class distinction, to an understanding of class consciousness. When this problem was solved the organization simply went to pieces of itself. The new movement, however, is an outgrowth of the working people's need to stand together for strategic purposes. Its roots lie deep down in the proletarian cause the world over. Steadily the tree has grown during the first twenty-five years that have passed since the International Workingmen's Congress. Not even a hurricane can tear the tree from its foundation.

Not only outwardly—in its relations to the fellow-workers in foreign countries—will Social Democracy immediately upon the conclusion of the war stand confronted with great issues. Internally, in each country where inner politics are at stake, a variety of questions will ask for answers the nature of which may mean exceedingly much to the communal life. Here Social Democracy must proceed with the greatest energy to take advantage of every opportunity. We have already mentioned the question of militarism, what should be done toward strengthening constitutional privileges; whether it may not be well to preserve some of the features for supplying the populace with food articles, methods that have proved so valuable while the war is on. The new taxes that will be demanded to cover direct and indirect losses due to the war will be burdens for the workers everywhere to consider. Let no one imagine that such taxes will be of only temporary character. The war tax placed on coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, &c., here in Denmark to cover the expenses of the war of 1864 did not disappear until the change in the customs law in 1908. Social Democracy should have a say in whatever new tariffs are to be established to make good the financial losses brought about by this great war.

The organizing of many new workers

that will enter the industrial and transportation fields at the close of the war will call for great efforts. It is a historical experience that after every war there follows a period of great activity. There will be violent rises in productivity and consumption to make good the losses created by the destructiveness of the conflict. The great industrial upward movement during the first half of the seventies, it is true, was not produced exclusively as a result of the Franco-German war immediately preceding, but it is a fact that it was greatly accelerated through this war. Not only in Germany, where the French milliards gave the industrial movement a special feverish character, but everywhere in Europe, even in France, was this revival of marked effect. Lafargue speaks of the French industrial development in the years following the war as follows:

The mechanical industry which, since the treaty with England in 1863 had grown but slowly, suddenly took a colossal upward swing. * * * In all parts of the country factories shot up like mushrooms, destroyed the smaller industries, and thus created an industrial proletariat. * * * Ten years after the war the whole of France had become an industrial proletariat.

After every war participated in by the European nations following the Franco-German struggle similar movements have been noticed. The present world combat may be expected to give the fullest expression to the tendency making for increased trade and production. But while the necessity for such expansion is unquestioned, we must also expect a reaction within not many years after the period immediately following the war calls for feverish activity in all branches of endeavor. The subsequent economic crisis, then, is what must be guarded against.

Demand for wage earners is sure to come with the signing of the peace agreements. This demand will continue for a time, there will be a rise in wages, while it is probably also true that whatever may be the increase in earnings will be more or less offset by the increased cost of living. It is possible that there will be a turning of many agricultural workers toward the cities, for the reason that farm

products are likely to be among the first articles to reach a normal level with the coming of peace in Europe.

The Social Democratic elements in all countries will have to meet all these problems face to face. Social Democracy gained its first real advantage at the conclusion of the Franco-German war. From a number of weak and narrow groups,

often quarreling among themselves about trifles, the Social Democratic followers almost in the twinkling of an eye were transformed into a strong and big party, increasing in power year after year. The conditions that will be present when this world war ends will permit of further advances and influences leading up to final victory.

Critical Moments

By L. Slonimski

In Wjstnek Europe (The News of Europe) for July L. Slonimski, one of Russia's most widely read authorities on international problems, publishes an article entitled "Critical Moments," in which he considers the attitude of the Allies to Germany.

IT is quite clear that the war was deliberately prepared by the German leaders, and that Germany has been and is still in the exceptional position of occupying herself at once with culture and with armament.

What other countries considered an inevitable evil, forced on them by international relationships, Germany considered as a very important problem, an object of great anxiety, whose interest lay in itself. The other countries did not notice sufficiently what was going on in Germany, her militaristic tendencies, and how for forty years she was perfecting an organization equipped with the most modern and scientific arms known to warfare.

Other nations were forced to arm, but Germany alone aimed for the active preparedness that would permit her to attack her neighbors at any moment. This was something the other powers of Europe did not expect. They considered German militarism as something extraordinary, indeed, but to be disposed of by the matter of fact explanation of traditional custom. But what was looked on as part of a political system developed, to the surprise of the rest of Europe, into a system of war. The spectacle of Germany's preparedness was the first lesson

of the war. We found out then what Germany, armed for attack where others were armed for defense, had accomplished without one of her neighbors being aware of it. It is only now that we realize that it was for the purposes of her Generals that Prussia expended 480,000,000 marks on her railways in 1912.

The most notable feature of Germany's preparedness, however, was her production of arms and ammunition. In this she had no rival among all the other nations, and it is now our task to catch up with her on her own lines. With sufficient stores of ammunition in the hands of the Allies, the war would quickly be transferred from their territory to that of their enemy—and ended there.

Germany set aside her people's money before the war, and stored up her ammunition before the war. The Allies have to answer their questions of finance and armament with the war actually in progress—their success will depend entirely on the effort they can put forth to arrange these essential matters under redoubled difficulties.

At the beginning of the war the importance of these material problems was not sufficiently realized. The press was mainly occupied with analyzing and examining the ethical causes of Europe's unexpected catastrophe. On this account the discussions of foreign and Russian writers concluded with the idea that the Allies would win through the strength of their righteousness. ***

Emil Bodrero, the philosopher, predicts the fall of Germany on historical

grounds. "Germany is doomed because her mission in the history of civilization is ended. The quota of her great services to humanity having been completed, she must yield her place to others. Not only militarism will perish, but the entire era will take on a new aspect—the downtrodden masses replacing the men who hold the power in our civilization today. From this broader viewpoint, then, let us

not desire the downfall of Germany, remembering that to the minds of her patriots the work of England and France is as much ended as we think hers is." Each nation naturally exaggerates its ethical superiority over the others. We are no exception to the rule, and one of our great problems for the future must be the abolition of narrow-minded nationalism.

Warsaw and Kovno

By K. Shumskavo

As an example of the type of war correspondence published in Russia, we give an extract from an article in No. 32 of Neva, (The Field,) a weekly of Petrograd. K. Shumskavo, the author, is Neva's special representative at the front.

AS is well known, the fortress of Warsaw was vacated almost immediately after the Japanese war, and to have defended the old fortress at present would have been utterly disadvantageous for us.

When the enemy reached a point seven versts from Warsaw he began to bombard the city. Prince Luitpold of Bavaria commanded the German forces. On our side a decision was quickly reached that it would be better not to defend the capital than to suffer the damage it would incur from prolonged shelling.

So the evacuation of Warsaw was begun. The departure of our troops was extremely difficult, as the northern German army was hurrying down from Lomsha and Ostrow. The southern army, headed by Mackensen, rushed on to Brest. Our rear guard fought stubbornly against enemies attacking from both north and south. Meanwhile a new line of defense was calmly being formed between the Niemen and the Bug, with two strong supporting points on the wings. Brest on the left wing and Kovno on the right wing.

When the enemy pressed on toward the new line to surround the Kovno region, he met with vigorous resistance and

was stopped. It then became evident that Germany's one means of succeeding was to storm Kovno itself. The adventure was a serious one, for Kovno is a fortress of the first class, and the number of lives it cost the Germans was enormous. Nevertheless they did take the chain of forts surrounding Kovno, though the weakening of their field armies which this necessitated was attended with grave consequences for them. It is evident that the wider the circle of forts the more troops must be sent to surround them. Hence a violent effort was made by the enemy at Kovno to narrow the ring, as he was continuously subjected to attacks from Novo Georgievsk and Brest.

A few words will make clear the reason for the final abandonment of the fortress of Kovno. If the commander cannot preserve the forts from destruction, it is more reasonable to preserve the garrison at least for the field army, and not allow a siege in which the garrison might be lost, as in the case of Przemysl, where 170,000 Austrians were forced to capitulate.

A fort has to hold out at least till the return of the field army. When the latter shows no sign of approaching in time, and the fort is bound to fall, strategy demands the evacuation of the fortress and the garrison retreats. In general, one of the questions which modern military art has to consider most carefully is that of continuing the defense of a fortress or of withdrawing its garrison in time.

“The Balkan Bag”

*The difficulty of getting articles showing the true state of feeling among Russians is caused by the censorship of the Russian press, which goes to lengths of repression and to severity of punishment unknown in any other country. We accordingly give an article published by the *Nowe Mere*, (New World,) one of the most important Russian journals of America. “The Balkan Bag” is an editorial which appeared on Oct. 9, 1915.*

NOT long ago a conference of representatives of the Social Democrats of all the Balkan States was held in Bucharest. In brotherly agreement, though debating with great animation, they defined the best plan for development among their nations. Among the Balkan peoples, they affirmed, there is no enmity. They have no reason for war among themselves, except those furnished them by the treacherous politics of the classes who try to make the Governments extend their boundaries over the land of their neighbors. And even this only occurs through the submission of the Balkans to the shameful yoke of the great European plunderers. This is the true voice of the conscious proletarians of the Balkan States.

Bulgaria betrayed unhappy Serbia with hellish cold-bloodedness. But at the same time she betrayed her own national weakness: the inability to resist the greedy appetite of the great plunderers. The Balkan Social Democrats had that in mind when they said that the politics of the dominating classes was treacherous. Did the Bulgarian Nation do this? Does it sympathize with the politics of treason? Once for all—no. The power of the King and that of the reigning party of the capitalists are responsible. It is quite consistent for the desires of the capitalists of Bulgaria, making for economic superiority, to be so in harmony with the plans of King Ferdinand, who dreams of ruling the Balkan Peninsula. The small nations will not be able to resist their destruction, as the selfish aims of the dominating classes separate them into hostile camps. It is the rivalry of these nations (which should be allies) which throws them together like cats in a bag—to destroy one another.

In this darkness there is only one possible ray of light: proletarian self-consciousness. Between the persecuted, between victims, there can be no enmity. The proletarians of the Balkans said so on the very eve of the war.

The Opponents' Losses and Gains

In an article on “High Finance and a Premature Peace,” appearing in The Nineteenth Century and After for September, Edgar Crammond says:

AT the end of twelve months of war the central powers find themselves in the following position:

- (a) They have occupied 70,000 square miles of enemy territory.
- (b) They have captured 7,000 to 8,000 guns and 2,000 to 3,000 machine guns.
- (c) They claim to have captured 1,600,000 prisoners of war, (in all probability a great number of civilians are included in this total.)
- (d) They have inflicted losses upon the

enemy aggregating about 5,800,000 men, including prisoners of war.

On the other hand, the Central Powers

(a) Have lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners at least 5,700,000 men.

(b) They have lost the greater part of their Colonial Empire aggregating 1,000,000 square miles.

(c) They have lost their entire Overseas commerce.

We know the distress and agony of mind caused in our own immediate circles by the death and maiming of our loved ones. We also know that the British losses up to July 18 aggregated 329,895. Allowing for the difference

between the population of the German Empire and that of the United Kingdom with the Overseas Dominions, the German losses are about eight times as large as the British. It is impossible to believe that these frightful losses are not having a terrifying effect upon the mind of the German people. They are learning in blood and in tears that war is bad business. In addition to the loss of 3,000,000 men and the destruction of her Colonial Empire Germany has pretty well used up the war material accumulated during the past forty years. She has added already £1,000,000,000 to her national debt. She has aroused against her the active and abiding hatred, so far as this generation is concerned, of nearly one-third of the people of the world. This hatred is certain to find expression in the restriction of future trade with Germany. Above all, the central powers, after making all these sacrifices and incurring such frightful losses, have not been able to obtain a decision in any theatre of the war, and they find ringed around their frontiers many millions more armed men and better equipped men than they had to contend with at the end of the first month of the war.

The prolongation of the war through another Winter will destroy Prussian militarism. Germany's supplies of raw materials for her manufactures are approaching exhaustion at the same time

that her supplies of certain indispensable war materials are running out. Her reserves of men of military age are also within sight of exhaustion. When the facts of the situation are realized by the great mass of the German people the whole economic fabric, which is based upon belief in the success of German arms, will collapse, the war spirit of the German people will be broken, and there will be an economic upheaval in Germany such as the world has never witnessed.

The rulers of Germany are not fools. They recognize the danger of her position. They are past masters of the game of "bluff," and they are trying to "bluff" the world. They know that it would be against the interest of "High Finance" that Germany should be crushed, because many profitable channels of intercourse between the different countries of the world would be eliminated. For these reasons I am convinced that "High Finance" will exert all its influence to prevent Germany from being completely crushed.

In order to show the suffering and destruction which Prussian militarism has already brought upon the world I have prepared the two following tables. The first shows the estimated number of killed, wounded, and missing, including prisoners, in the first twelve months of the war, and the second table shows the losses and destruction in terms of money during the same period:

ALLIED POWERS.

Power.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Missing and Total.
Russia	900,000	1,600,000	1,000,000	3,500,000
*France	400,000	700,000	300,000	1,400,000
†Great Britain	69,713	196,994	63,188	329,895
Belgium	47,000	160,000	40,000	247,000
Serbia	64,000	112,000	40,000	216,000
Italy .....	.....	.....	.....	60,000
 Total for Allies.....	1,480,713	2,768,994	1,443,188	5,752,895

CENTRAL POWERS.

Power.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Missing and Total.
Germany	900,000	1,800,000	400,000	3,100,000
Austria-Hungary	600,000	1,100,000	800,000	2,500,000
Turkey	46,000	100,000	30,000	176,000
 Total	1,546,000	3,000,000	1,230,000	5,776,000
 Grand total	3,026,713	5,768,994	2,673,188	11,528,895

*Figures based on official appeal of the French Relief Society.

†Official figures, including navy lists, Aug. 22, 1914—July 18, 1915.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT COST OF WAR JULY 31, 1914, TO JULY 31, 1915.*
(In thousands of pounds, 000s omitted.)

Power.	Direct Expenditure of Govern- ment.	Destruc- tion of Property.	Value of Loss of Human Life.	Loss of Production and Other	Total.
Belgium	£36,500	£250,000	£40,000	£200,000	£526,500
France	568,900	160,000	348,000	625,000	1,701,900
Russia	600,000	100,000	404,000	400,000	1,504,000
Italy	253,000	.....	.....	200,000	453,000
British Empire	700,000	.....	300,000	250,000	1,250,000
 Total	£2,158,400	£510,000	£1,092,000	£1,675,000	£5,435,400
Austria-Hungary	562,000	100,000	435,000	600,000	1,697,000
Germany	1,026,000	.....	1,014,000	740,000	2,780,000
 Total	£1,588,000	£100,000	£1,449,000	£1,340,000	£4,477,000
 Grand total, both groups.....	£3,746,400	£610,000	£2,541,000	£3,015,000	£9,912,400

**Vide* paper on "The Cost of War" read before the Royal Statistical Society, March 17, 1915.

In twelve months Prussian militarism has caused the death or maiming of nearly 9,000,000 of men and the destruction of about £10,000,000,000 (\$50,000,000,000) of the world's wealth. If Germany had been the winner of this war she would have known how to make the losers pay. The question which it is very much in the power of the British people to decide is whether Germany is to be punished or whether she is to be allowed to escape the penalty of her crime against the world because her punishment cannot be accomplished without inflicting further enormous losses upon

certain great financial interests. It is our duty to sweep aside all influences and considerations which stand in the way of the destruction of Prussian militarism. At an immense cost we have transformed our industrial organization from a commercial basis to a war basis, and we are only just beginning to reap the full benefit of this tremendous effort.

Our greatest danger now is that we may allow ourselves to be "bluffed" into a premature and inconclusive peace. We hold the winning position, and all we have to do is to stand fast with our allies.

A Year of War's Emotions

By Simeon Strunsky

(From *The Atlantic Monthly* for October.)

IF I were to attempt anything like a formal account of the first year of the war, the subject would naturally fall apart into campaigns and "phases," bounded by dates of day and month more or less precise. It would be the campaign in the west and the campaign in the east, the war in Belgium, the invasion of France, the battle of the Marne, the Russians in East Prussia, the Russians in Galicia, the Germans before Warsaw, the Germans across the Vistula, and so on, in orderly textbook fashion. But when I think back upon the past

months as a man and not as a war expert, the chronicle does not present itself as a succession of events and phases, but as a succession of moods and states of mind. The record I most clearly visualize is less of what was going on in Europe than of what was going on in me, and millions like myself, in reaction to the news from the battlefields and the capitals. It is a record of what people in this neutral country thought and talked about, the fluctuation of their hopes and fears, their pities and indignations, their speculations of the world-issues at stake, and their

wagers as to whether the war would end before November, 1916. For a review of this kind, maps and charts, names and dates, are of little help, though the concrete event and time underlie, of course, what may be called the psychic chronicle of the war. Such a psychic record, too, falls apart into phases and movements, but they are not always chronologically definable.

The first of the mental periods we lived through was the period of Belgian achievement as distinguished from the period of Belgian suffering. To the extent that chronology can bound a psychological state this phase ran for something like four weeks, from the first gun at Liège to Cambrai and St. Quentin. It was a time when men's hearts glowed with the vision of righteousness apparently prevailing against might, and of the unconquerable soul of man. During the first three weeks of August, it seemed as if David and Goliath had returned and the colossus of Europe had been shattered by a pygmy. * * *

There followed a period of severe psychic reaction which I think of as the Sayville or von Kluck period. After four weeks of isolation, Germany was in touch with her wireless towers on Long Island, and the first news she gave to the world was that force, after all, was having its own way against righteousness. Already we knew that Brussels had fallen, but that, we said, was largely for strategic reasons, or, at worst, because of a delay in the approach of French and British reinforcements. We had some hint, too, that the French were not doing as well as they should have done, measured by Belgium's showing, but we were not yet adept in translating the official language of the dispatches, with their vague regroupings and retirements and their confused geography.

Then, in the last days of August, Germany, by way of Sayville, announces victory on every hand—victory in Alsace, in Lorraine, in Belgian Luxemburg, victory at Charleroi, and at Mons. The iron ring is drawing tight around France, and von Kluck shoots up in the headlines. For two weeks after that the world re-

echoes to the iron-shod tramp of von Kluck. The Uhlan of the early Belgian period retires into the background and the invincible right wing sweeps on toward Paris. * * *

I think of the period which followed as the Time-against-Germany period. By this time people were aware that the work of von Moltke and Bismarck was not undone, that the German Army was what forty-five years of preparation should have made it, that the Germans were apparently winning. Only they were not winning fast enough. Time ran against the Kaiser, and we spoke of the Russian steam-roller. The Russian steam-roller came to grief in the mud of the Masurian Lakes; and, after a painful process of extrication, started lumbering back to the Niemen. But just then came the battle of the Marne, and in a trice we were again portioning out the German Empire and exiling the Kaiser to St. Helena. The formal history of the war may yet show that at the Marne the German cause failed definitely, and that the swift rebound of spirits that followed the "strategic withdrawal" of the German right wing was justified. * * *

Up to the fall of Antwerp we had not lost our faith in the human quality as against the Krupp quality. Those were the days of Joffre and Sir John French and the beginning of the four weeks' race between Joffre and the Germans for Antwerp and the shores of the North Sea. Like a child stringing beads Joffre strung territorial battalions and cavalry brigades in a chain that seemed destined to reach the Belgian fortress before the heavy German guns.

But the German guns won the race, and for months after that we were under the shadow of the 42-centimeter. German generalship had been outwitted, but German brute strength was in the ascendant. Sixteen-inch guns, caterpillar wheels, motor traction, we saw little else. Just as during mobilization days the imaginative correspondents saw endless lines of troop trains pouring across Cologne bridge or shunted back to East Prussia, so now they followed the itinerary of the Krupp howitzers. Where the guns came they would conquer. How

soon would the Germans have them before Verdun? * * *

While Kitchener was gathering his millions for the Spring drive and the armies lay watchful but inert in the ditches, the deadlock gave us leisure for a campaign which I believe has impressed itself on the mind of the world more vividly than the strategy and casualties of Galicia and Flanders, and which to a great many of us will be the real war years after dates and names have sunk into obscurity. Who now can place Liao- yang and Mukden within their month or even the year? Who was Kodama? Who was Nodzu? Who, to answer instantaneously, was Kuroki? But we still remember Samurai and Bushido, Japanese loyalty and superstition, hara-kiri, Emperor worship, Elder Statesmen. So in the present war what will be longest remembered, I dare say, are not the battles and campaigns, but the passions far behind the battle line. While Kitchener was drilling his men there raged the Battle of the Multi-colored Books—white books, yellow books, orange books, blue books, green books, red books—these being the Truth as revealed to the Foreign Offices of the various nations. * * *

Simultaneously with the battle of the books there raged the battle of the professors and the poets. In this Kultur campaign the Germans displayed their characteristic organization, discipline, and determination, but on the whole it was a defensive fight. The assault was delivered by the Allies. It was they who began the attack on Kultur after Louvain, and Professors Ostwald, Haeckel, attacked. The allied bombardment was attacked. The Allied bombardment was first directed against Fort Bernhardi, as I have shown in a former article. When that position was in a fair way of being demolished and the paper editions of Bernhardi, as I have pointed out, were selling as low as 10 cents, the allied fire was trained against Fort Treitschke. The Germans in Fort Treitschke held out rather well, but the Allies masked that strong position and concentrated the fire of their batteries on Fort Nietzsche. That position is still under siege. * * *

It was sapping tactics that were chiefly

brought into play by the Allies in the battle of Kultur. The entire German position was undermined. "Let us see," said the allied scientists, professors, historians, scholars, "what are the real claims of these German professors, technicians, text-editors, dictionary-makers, and coal-tar specialists, whose authority we have hitherto acknowledged without question, and whose example we have humbly tried to imitate." And it at once appeared that German science and learning, was a Kultur of mediocrity, a middleman, parasitic, sweat-and-grub Kultur, which made its profits by working over the tailings thrown up by the pioneer delvers of other nations, which rushed in its disciplined Teuton hordes only where some great alien had shown the way, which originated little and borrowed everywhere. The roll of the great discoverers and inventors was called, and nearly every time it appeared that it was an Englishman, or a Frenchman, or an Italian, or even a Russian, to whom we owed the basic ideas of progress. All of German progress was coal-tarred with the same brush of imitation. Bacon, Harvey, Newton, Descartes, Lavoisier, Faraday, Pasteur, Becquerel, Benedetto Croce, Mendeleef, were found to be the real foundation of German greatness. * * *

As I write, phase after phase of the great conflict suggests itself, almost without end, and always they are phases of emotion, phases of mind, attitudes, hopes, fears, exultation, depression. There was the period when Germany was to be starved into surrender, and the period when England's empire was on the verge of ruin. There were months when neutrality held us absorbed, the neutrality of Rumania, of the Balkans, of Italy, of the Balkans again, of Rumania once more. There were the days when we lay under the pall of the Lusitania, as dry-wrung of emotions as no event to come can conceivably leave us; it will not yet bear thinking about or writing about. There is the phase which is dominant at this moment of writing—the munition phase. * * *

But there is one psychic phase of the

war which rose to consciousness after the first weeks, which maintained its poignancy throughout the vicissitudes of months, and which, though not so often talked about now or written about, needs only be mentioned to reassert its grip on our hearts. This is the sorrow of Belgium. Though the end of the war may bring about the reconstruction of Europe, though empires may fall and nations lose their existence, the great chapter in the chronicle as it will present itself to the men of the future will be the story of how Belgium suffered. After a year of war, and 10,000,000 men in the casualty lists, and dramatic swayings of the battle line across ruined countrysides—Flanders, Galicia, the blood-soaked plains of Champagne; after Zeppelin and submarine, yes, even after the Lusitania, which to so many of us came as a lurid precipitant of doubts and opinions, one need only mention Louvain to find the emotional centre of this dreadful year. The treaty of peace may perhaps bring about a clearing of judgment on all other questions, an agreement of minds, a dissipation of misunderstandings. Peace will come presumably on the basis of give and take. But there is

one clause on which there can be no compromise between the German mind and the mind of the world, and that is Belgium.

What many of us have said about the limitations of German imagination may be wrong. But the behavior of the German mind with regard to Belgium is something which can never be disposed of in any reconciliation. We may put aside and forget the one mad act in a clean life, the one puerile weakness in a great mind. The invasion of Belgium might be such an act of aberration if it were not for the persistent German apology for the treatment of Belgium. Only it is not apology: it is a sort of puzzled wonder on the part of Germany why the world should feel as it did, as it does, about the sufferings of a nation. The invasion of Belgium and the violated scrap of paper might have been forgotten and forgiven, but Germany's persistent plaint that she has been misunderstood about Louvain, misunderstood about francs-tireurs, about ransoms of cities, cannot be forgotten. If by this time the German mind cannot understand the world's feeling about Belgium, it never will.

Areas Conquered by the Germans

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington Sept. 22, 1915, said:

A German estimate of the physical results of the first year of the European war was received by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce today, in a report from the American Association of Commerce and Trade of Berlin. The report said:

"It is of interest at the close of the first war year to record the amount of hostile territory occupied by the belligerents. In regard to prisoners taken only German data are available. The territory occupied by the Allies consists of: In Galicia, 3,861 square miles; in Alsace-Lorraine, 405 square miles; a total of 4,266 square miles. This territory is about the size of the State of Connecticut.

"The territory occupied by the central powers consists of: In Belgium, 11,197 square miles; in France, 8,108 square miles; in Russia, 50,197 square miles; a total of 69,502 square miles. This territory is about the size of the State of Missouri and about one-third the size of the German Empire."

The estimate fixed the number of prisoners taken by the central powers at 1,694,869, of which 8,790 are officers, and the number of guns captured at 8,000 field pieces and 3,000 machine guns.

The Spirit of Russia

By M. Rodzianko, President of the Russian Imperial Duma; P. L. Barck, Russian Minister of Finance, and M. GOREMYKIN, President of the Russian Council of Ministers

The subjoined addresses made at the last convention of the Imperial Russian Duma were translated in *The London Times* of Sept. 18, 1915. Referring to them editorially, *The London Times* said: "All these utterances recognize the difficulties with which Russia is faced in her hour of supreme trial; all pay touching and well-earned tribute to the noble self-sacrifice of the armies and fleets of the Czar; all breathe the same quiet spirit of confidence in the ultimate success of his arms. More particularly we would direct attention to the speech of the President of the Duma, M. Rodzianko, which should be read and pondered by all who wish to understand the spirit of the Russian people. The war, which has inspired many noble utterances from the statesmen of the allied nations, has produced none more lofty than this. As a masterpiece of unstudied eloquence, not even the magic oratory of M. Viviani has surpassed it. But it is more to us than a great emotional appeal to the members of the Duma, and through them to all the subjects of the Czar, whom they represent. It is more than a message of serene confidence to us and to our other allies. It is a manifestation, a revealing of the innermost heart of Russia, an unfolding of the psychology of the people, in which all who have understanding may read the reasons—those qualities of heart and head which led to the discomfiture of Napoleon, and that long line of tyrants before him, who sought to enslave a great, free people, and which will as surely lead to the overthrow of the Kaiser and his grandiose schemes of conquest."

Russia's Heart

By M. Rodzianko

President of the Imperial Duma

Opening the Imperial Duma on Aug. 1, 1915, M. Rodzianko made this address:
Members of the Imperial Duma!

TODAY has passed a year of most sanguinary war, replete with arduous sacrifices. The bloody conflict of the nations has not yet ceased and nobody yet can know when it will cease. This war is unprecedented in difficulties and sacrifices, but the greater the danger the greater grows our determination to carry it to the only possible conclusion—our decisive victory over the foe. For the solution of this problem is now demanded from the entire country the utmost exertion of strength and complete unity.

In these days of unrest and danger our great Emperor, meeting this entire national need half way and wishing to listen to the voice of the Russian land, has commanded the Imperial Duma to be convened, with firm faith in the inexhaustible strength of Russia. His

Majesty expects from Government and public institutions, from Russian industry, and from all the loyal sons of our native land, without distinction of views and position, united harmonious labor for the needs of our valiant army. On this sole all-national problem, as written in the Imperial Rescript, must hereafter be concentrated all the thoughts of a Russia united and invincible in its unity. In the complete and clear understanding of the profound meaning of this great imperial summons, the Imperial Duma embarks upon its responsible labors.

To the reconstructed Government you will speak your truthful word, which will be indispensable for the elucidation of the facts, and all our debates, perhaps even stormy ones, will lead to a salutary end—the elimination of difficulties that have arisen. And in our most heated discussions I am sure we shall not forget that there on the field

of battle, the living sword of our native land, menacing the foe and humble before God, in all its majestic tranquillity stands the Russian Army, harmonious, strong in will and spirit, and that it will not permit the Russian soil to be defiled. Our brave fleet will not yield to it in this. Let our antagonists know of this and let them not console themselves with transitory successes. For an entire year, without leaving the battle line, the rain of shells and the hail of bullets, the army has proudly borne aloft the sacred Russian standard, and with its blood is defending the honor of our native land under the onslaught of the foe. Stand fast, our dear warriors, for the faith, the Czar, and holy native land, and let our prayers and blessings be with you. The crafty and heartless foe well appreciated your might and power and, now directing the principal portion of his hosts against us, knows no bounds to his malicious inventiveness in the means of destruction. But you have not been intimidated by these infernal efforts, and more than once already have given brilliant proof of this. Profound reverence to you, our own brave warriors!

Greetings also to you on today's anniversary of the war, our faithful allies! Twelve months of war have still more closely consolidated our friendship and strengthened our trust and mutual understanding. We send the salute of the Russian land also to our new ally, the heroic Italian people. May success and glory accompany them in the field of battle and may their standards be crowned with the unfading laurels of victory!

It is also our duty to send words of sympathy and consolation to our brother Poles, who have received to a considerably greater degree than the inhabitants of other regions the blows of the cruel foe. Deprived of their dwellings, ruined and reduced to beggary, remaining true to their great Mother Russia, with redoubled energy they are helping our valiant troops wherever they can. It is our duty, gentlemen of the Duma, to note this civic valor and to tell our brothers in blood that the shocks and horrors of the war borne in fraternal unity have united

us strongly together and that we shall help the Government in every way in those measures which shall make them forget the grief and suffering undergone.

The war through which we are passing is no longer a duel of armies, but imperatively calls for the participation therein of all our people. And in their common endeavor and harmonious, united organized labor lies the pledge of the success of our troops over the insolent foe. Holy Russia has lived all this year with a single desire—the desire for a living and indissoluble tie with the army which has drawn fiery inspiration therefrom. The work of our public efforts for the past year, intense but restricted within certain bounds, was favored with notable appreciation from the summit of the throne, and if these labors have actually lightened our army's difficult task of conflict with a cruel antagonist, then it must be said here with pride and a feeling of profound satisfaction that for this difficult and responsible time the public forces of Russia have indited a splendid page in the history of their national existence. But these, their efforts and labors inspired with love for native land, are still far from sufficient. The needs of the war are constantly growing, and from the summit of the throne has resounded afresh the summons to increased labors and new sacrifices. Our duty, sparing neither strength nor time nor means, is to set to work without delay. Let each one give his labor into the treasury of popular might. Let those who are rich, let those who are able, contribute to the welfare of the whole country. Both the army and the navy are setting us all an example of dauntless fulfillment of duty; they have accomplished all that was in human power; our turn has now arrived and the now united public strength, working ceaselessly, I am sure can supply the army with all that is necessary for its further martial exploits. But for the success of these responsible public labors, in addition to the benevolent attitude of individuals, placed at the head of departments, a change of the spirit itself and the administration of the ex-

isting system is necessary. I firmly believe, gentlemen of the Imperial Duma, that at the present arduous time the reconstituted Government will not hesitate to place at the basis of its activity a trustful and responsive attitude toward the demands of public forces, summoning them thereby to common harmonious labor for the glory and happiness of Russia.

Gentlemen of the Imperial Duma! Such are the great tasks which have risen up before us in their full stature. Do not forget that upon the issue of our labors for the assistance of the army depends the greatness of independent, absolute, and resuscitated Russia, while in the event of their failure, both grief and humiliation may threaten her. But no, our great Mother Russia will never be the slave of anybody! Russia will fight till the last, till the complete downfall of the contemptible foe. The foe will be defeated, and until then there cannot be peace. Gentlemen, national representa-

tives, at this great and terrible hour of trial we here must display the mighty national spirit in all its greatness. The country is awaiting a reply from you. Away with unnecessary doubts! We must fight to the end and to the last soldier capable of bearing arms. We must be strong in profound faith in the mighty Russian warrior.

We trust in thee, Holy Russia, in thy inexhaustible spiritual resources, and let this encouraging voice of the entire Russian soil penetrate thither into the glorious Russian Army and into the midst of the gallant fleet, and let our glorious defenders, the army and navy, know that Russia, harmonious, united in one with her army, burning with a single wish and a single thought, will oppose to the hostile attack the steel breasts of her sons.

Gentlemen of the Imperial Duma! Here among us are present the hero leader of this war, the valiant, revered by all, Adjt. Gen. Ruszky, and many wounded heroes.

The Trials of the War

By M. Goremykin

President of the Russian Imperial Council of Ministers

At the sitting of the Imperial Russian Duma on Aug. 1, 1915, M. Goremykin delivered the following address:

GENTLEMEN of the Imperial Duma, his Imperial Majesty has graciously commanded me to appear before you in his name with greetings and the wish for the complete success of your forthcoming responsible and important legislative labors for the welfare of our deeply-loved Russia.

At these words the members of the Imperial Duma rose in their seats and the strains of the national hymn filled the hall.

On the proposal of the President, the Imperial Duma unanimously resolved to send his Imperial Majesty a telegram with the expression of its loyal feeling.

The President of the Council of Ministers continued:

The day of the renewal of your labors

coincides with the anniversary of our declaration of war. On the occasion of the prorogation of the labors of the Imperial Duma, at the beginning of the year, till November, the Government foresaw that in accordance with the course of events, the convocation of the legislative institutions might prove indispensable before that date. The time for the same has now arrived. The trials sent us by the war have torn you from your service in the army, from work in the Red Cross, public activity in the provinces, and, in short, from your private affairs. We will look the truth squarely in the face and frankly recognize that the war threatens to be protracted and requires ever fresh efforts and sacrifices. Having decided without any hesitation to make them, the Government, nevertheless, deems it its duty and feels the moral need finally to select

this path in complete accord with the legislative institutions. This need, besides all other grounds, explains your summons now, in order to inform you of the true position of affairs and together with you elucidate all methods for the speedy subjugation of the foe.

Since the time of the national war (1812) Russia has not undergone such days. "A ferocious, bloody, ruinous war, * * * in magnitude of armaments and in vicissitudes of circumstances unlike any of the wars hitherto known in history." These words of the historic manifest of Emperor Alexander I. might relate in their entirety to our own time. Then—the year 1812—opened for Russia, after unprecedeted shocks, also new and unprecedetedly wide paths to life and glory. The subsequent course of the present war and its end are as yet hidden from us, as from the whole world. Nevertheless, true to the great past of Russia, we gaze into the future with tranquil firmness. The present situation is only a moment of our history.

But, besides firmness and tranquillity, the course of the war requires from us a tremendous, an extraordinary, uplifting of the spirit and strength. The war has shown that we had insufficiently prepared for it in comparison with our foe. Having accumulated, under the treacherous guise of friendship and peace, illimitable stores of military equipment, he threw himself upon us at the most convenient time for himself in the panoply of war technique. Our allies are mighty, but, like ourselves, are peace-loving powers, who have gone far beyond us in the sphere of industrial technique, and yet they, too, proved to be taken unawares in this stupendous conflict. The complete exertion of the national forces is indispensable in order to repulse and crush such a foe. That which we have hitherto succeeded in doing is insufficient. Fresh efforts, the efforts of the entire people, are necessary, and, in the imperial words, the whole country is now summoned to intense public labor. To your consideration the Government, in its turn, will submit only measures evoked by the needs of the war. Remaining legislative proposals, large and small,

whose object is the improvement of the peaceful conditions of Russian life, are temporarily set aside.

The first of these measures relates to the conscription of the opolchenie of the second category—a measure adopted by all the belligerent countries, and one which, under the existing extraordinary circumstances, is only natural. If we have not hitherto had recourse thereto, this is but an extra proof of how great are yet the stores of our human strength. The second measure also evoked by the war and the endeavor to reinforce us for a long struggle relates to the expansion of the note-issuing powers of the State Bank. The third measure has for its object to unite in a single institution and materially to extend the share of the representatives of the legislative assemblies, public institutions, and Russian industry in the business of supplying the army with munitions, the guarantee of industrial fuel, and the co-ordination of measures for the feeding of the army and the country. Experiments have been made in such enlistment of public forces for the task of defense, and have proved their vitality and suitability. This has moved the Government more extensively and strongly to weld the internal forces of the country in the task of guaranteeing the military equipment of our army and the organization of our rear. At the present time, gentlemen, there is no more fruitful task; we must all become worthy of our great, heroic army.

In this sphere, which now forms the very heart of State labor, extensive activity is assured us hereafter. Even heretofore many of us have been giving our strength to the service of the army, but only as separate individuals. Hereafter the members of the legislative institutions, elected and authorized by the Imperial Council and the Imperial Duma, are summoned to constant direct labor in the strengthening of defense through the equipment of the army, the support of industry, measures for dealing with the cost of living, i. e., to a business constituting the greatest and—for the time of war—in fact, the sole task of authority.

For routine speeches on general poli-

ties this is not the time. Work for the betterment of the peaceful conditions of Russian life lies ahead, and it will be accomplished with our direct participation. I deem it my duty today, however, to refer only to one question which, as it were, stands on the boundary between the war and our domestic affairs; this is the Polish question. Of course, this question also can be settled in its entirety only after the war. Poland now awaits first of all the emancipation of her soil from the heavy German yoke. But in these days it is important for the Polish people to know and believe that their future organization was conclusively and irrevocably predetermined by the proclamation of the Generalissimo announced with the imperial consent during the early days of the war. The knightly noble, fraternally faithful Polish people, steadfastly enduring in this war innumerable trials, evoke in our hearts the most profound sympathy and a tribute of respect which nothing can obscure. His Majesty the Emperor has deigned to authorize me to announce to you, gentlemen of the Duma, that his Majesty has commanded the Council of Ministers to draft a bill to confer upon Poland after the war the right of free organization of her national, cultural, and economic life on principles of autonomy, under the autocratic sceptre of the Russian rulers, and with the retention of a single imperial authority.

But in the composition of the great empire with its many nationalities not alone the Poles have displayed in this year of war and general trial loyalty to Russia, and in reply thereto our internal policy must be imbued with the principle of impartial and benevolent attention to the interests of all true citizens of Russia without distinction of race, language, and religion.

Let us then unite in one common labor to which in these days of military menace our Autocratic Head summons us. Let us all think of one thing—the expulsion of the enemy from our territory and his defeat, to the glory of the Emperor and Fatherland. And that victory sooner or later will be ours the Government unfalteringly believes, and this belief you share, as do all beyond the walls of the Tauris Palace throughout the expanse of illimitable Russia.

The commencement of war operations was signalized here within these walls by a general outburst of enthusiasm and unprecedented unanimity. The days which have now dawned, the Government is convinced, will still more closely and deeply unite us all. May there be in Russia for the entire time of the war no parties save one—"the party of war till the end"—no program save one—to conquer. From you, gentlemen of the Imperial Duma, history awaits the answering voice of the soil of Russia.

Russia's Economies

By P. L. Barck

Russian Minister of Finance

At the sitting of the Duma on Aug. 1 the Minister of Finance, P. L. Barck, delivered the following speech:

THE past year of the greatest conflict of nations in world history clearly convinces us that success in this struggle rests upon two fundamental bases—on the valor of the army and navy, which with unlimited self-denial are de-

fending the honor and destiny of the fatherland and of the entire civilized world, and on the strength of the national and State economies necessary for satisfying the diversified material needs of each of the belligerent powers.

These needs include not only the principal and primary factors of equipment and supply of the army, but also the

extension of aid to the families of reservists left without their breadwinners, the treatment and general care of sufferers in the war, and the relief of the more acute wants of the population of localities which have experienced the destructive force of the war. At the same time, the various requirements and demands of State life have to be maintained as far as possible in normal channels.

The successful fulfillment of these varied demands, in view of the unprecedented numbers of the armies in the field and the exceptional intensity with which the conflict is being conducted, imposes upon all the nations participating in the present war enormous financial burdens, and involves a series of profoundly difficult and complicated problems which their Governments have to solve in the search for indispensable resources. We succeeded, however, not only in solving these problems, but also in finding in sources of popular labor an abundance of means for the replenishment in the State budget of the shortage caused by the surrender of one of our largest classes of State receipts—the liquor revenue—a surrender which, following the magnanimous call of our Emperor, we made calmly and without doubts, firmly believing in the inexhaustible working power of the Russian people.

Let me first of all present you data regarding the scope of the demand for money called forth by the war, in finding which there were not, and could not be, either hesitation or insuperable obstacles.

Our appropriations for military needs from the commencement of the war operations to July 15 (28) of the current year amount to 6,971,000,000 rubles (£735,000,000); there has been expended of these appropriations up to July 1 (14), according to preliminary calculations, 5,456,000,000 rubles (£576,000,000), or on an average at the rate of 15,700,000 rubles (£1,657,000) actual outlay per day, while in the future we shall have to reckon on a daily expenditure of not less than 19,000,000 rubles (£2,000,000).

The war, which has caused this previously unknown extraordinary outlay, could not but cause an appreciable reduction in the receipts of revenue. In the fulfillment of the State budget for 1914, notwithstanding the curtailments effected under expenditures, an excess of expenditures was shown over receipts to the amount of 478,200,000 rubles, or £50,000,000, (covered by the free cash reserve,) without, of course, counting the outlays evoked by the circumstances of war time which are effected by special arrangement.

The deficit of revenue for the past year, in comparison with estimate proposals, amounts to 673,600,000 rubles (£71,000,000). The figures are enormous. Nevertheless, a big budget deficit for the time of the war has become the lot of all the belligerent powers.

The largest share of the deficit in 1914, amounting to 432,800,000 rubles (£45,600,000) against the estimate proposals, relates to the receipts from the State liquor operations. As the result of the measures adopted during the first half of the past year for the inculcation of temperance among the population, the liquor revenue, instead of its usual rapid growth, showed a reduction for the first six months of 1914, while the complete suspension of the sale of State liquor on the commencement of the war necessitated almost the entire exclusion of receipts from these operations from the budget. The principal portion of our deficit was thus the consequence, not of elementary causes, but the fruit of conscious will—a deficit the appearance of which under such conditions cannot and must not disquiet us.

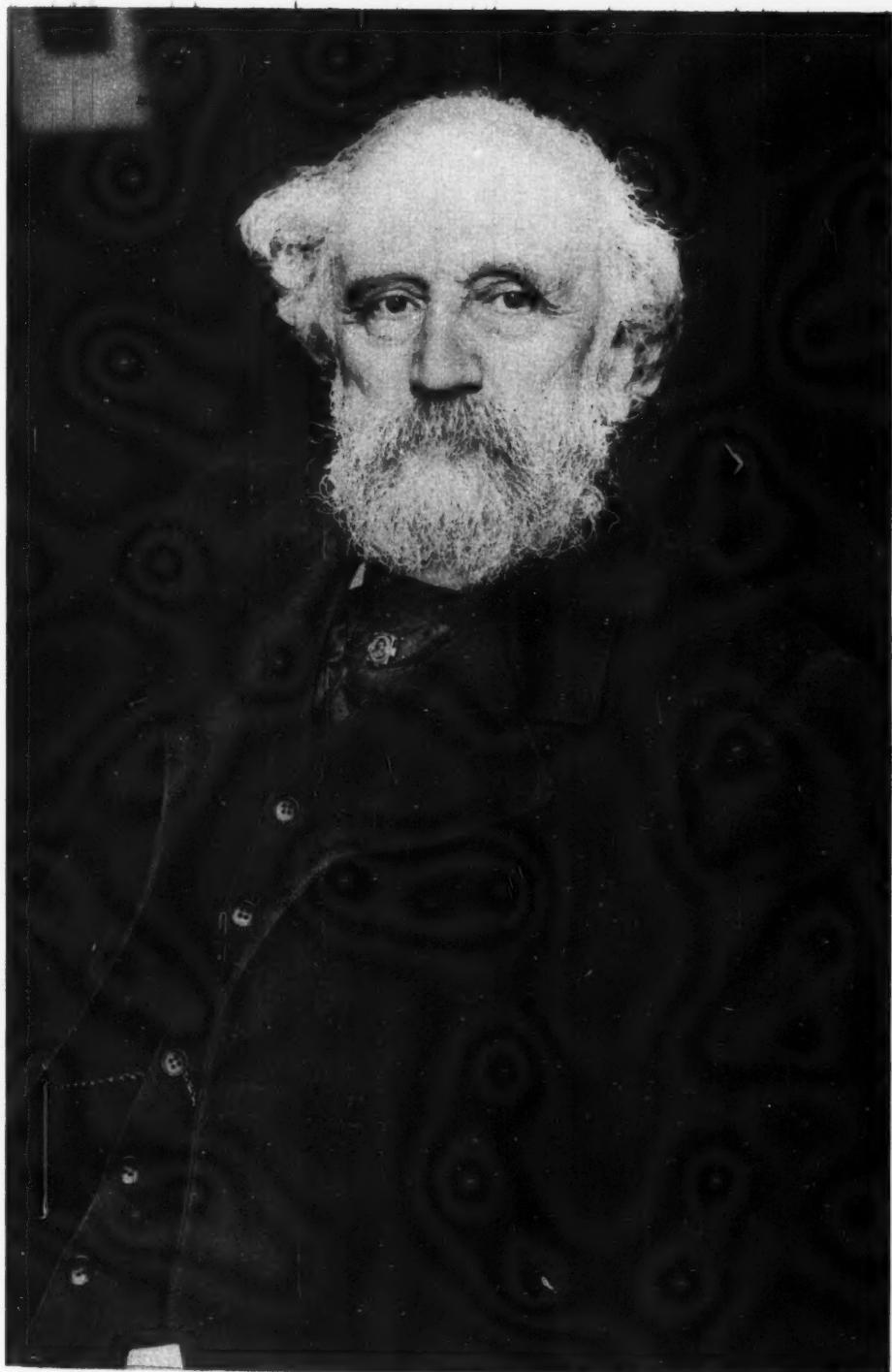
The effect of the same factors lowering the receipts of ordinary revenue of necessity asserts itself during the current year also. In drafting the budget for the present year there was discounted, on the one hand, the increase of revenue from taxable resources, and, on the other, the expenditures were computed with special reserve, thanks to which, for the balancing of the budget, both under ordinary and extraordinary heads, it was necessary to assign 60,800,000 rubles (£6,417,000,) on account

of credit operations. For the first third of the present year the receipts of revenue amounted to 753,000,000 rubles, (£79,450,000,) or 31 per cent. less than during the same interval of the preceding year. The figure includes 79,000,000 rubles from the introduction of new and the increase of existing taxes. The receipts from other sources amounted to 674,000,000 rubles, (£71,150,000.) Taking into consideration that the receipts for the first third of the year ordinarily constitute about 29 per cent. of the annual total, it may be assumed that for the entire year the receipts from previous sources will amount to about 2,308,000,000 rubles, (£243,617,000,) or 89 per cent. of the sum computed for the State Budget of 1915, while the receipts of new taxes will reach 488,000,000 rubles, (£51,510,000.) Thus we may expect a total of 2,796,000,000 rubles (£295,021,000) of ordinary revenue for the current year, 336,000,000 rubles, (£35,466,000,) less than was entered in the budget. It should, nevertheless, be noted that of this anticipated deficit 160,000,000 rubles (£16,888,000) falls to non-receipts of revenue from the State liquor operations and the liquor excise. But since to cover the deficit for 1914 a balance of 81,000,000 rubles (£8,550,000) for 1915 was carried forward from the free cash reserve, while of the ordinary expenditures in the 1915 budget 496,000,000 rubles, (£52,354,000,) for the feeding the army and navy is now assigned to the War Fund, on the basis of expected revenue, the ordinary budget for the present year may conclude without a deficit and even perhaps give a small balance. Thus by means of credit operations will be covered the outlays on the maintenance of the army and navy and on other war needs.

As regards forthcoming war expenditures besides those already effected, with the constant numerical growth of the armies and of the outlays on replenishment, and the creation of new means of material equipment of the armed forces, both our allies and foes and we ourselves will have to experience a further increase of the demands made upon the State Treasury. Under such conditions

our war expenditures from June 1, 1914, till the end of the current year, according to an approximate calculation, may amount to 4,066,000,000 rubles, (£429,188,000,) and a total of 7,242,000,000 rubles, (£764,233,000,) for 1915, or with the addition of the disbursements already effected, more than 9,500,000,000 rubles, (£1,002,700,000.)

Our financial mobilization was undertaken calmly. Having at our disposal a stock of free cash exceeding half a milliard rubles, (£53,777,000,) amassed during years of peaceful prosperity, we were able to cover the expenditure required to place the army on a war footing and then to undertake the creation of extraordinary resources for the satisfaction of the continuously growing State outlays. The foremost place in the ranks of these measures belongs to credit operations, since the steps simultaneously made in the direction of the curtailment of the granted appropriations and the increase of customary receipts from taxable sources necessarily acquired preponderant importance as means to cover the deficit in our revenue budget. The effected reduction of credits sanctioned by the budgets of 1914 and preceding years and the most careful possible computation of the expenditures under the budget of 1915 were nevertheless inadequate to square without a deficit a budget which contemplated peace time expenditure. It was necessary to reckon with an unavoidable deficit in our receipts, chiefly owing to the surrender of the liquor revenue. To make good this deficit the simplest method was to have recourse to State credit. Preserving, however, our accessible sources of borrowing for the satisfaction of our military needs, we sought means for the reduction of the deficit under the ordinary budget in the increase of receipts from taxable sources, with the conviction that to the call to such sacrifice—a call which in war time both we and other States not infrequently have been compelled to address to the population—the Russian Nation would respond, as always, calmly, in entire readiness to serve the welfare of their native land. The Government had in view the fact that this sacrifice



ALEXANDRE RIBOT
Finance Minister of France



REGINALD MCKENNA

British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Who Reported to Parliament the Greatest
War Budget of History of \$7,950,000,000

(Photo from Bain News Service.)

for the bulk of the population would be lightened, thanks to the retention among the people of the milliard rubles, (£107,550,000,) which was formerly paid to the Exchequer in the form of liquor revenue.

In resorting to the utilization of taxable sources for the increase of the resources of the Treasury we had necessarily to forego the idea of combining the execution of this work, urgent as it was, with the simultaneous introduction of fundamental amendments into our system of taxation.

The measures urgently introduced in war time and of necessity adapted to the existing taxation system are not free from defects, and can retain their effect only until we are able to replace them with a more complete and full taxation reform. The Ministry of Finance is now drafting proposals for the reform of our taxation system, but in order to bring them into force it is essential that the legislative institutions should definitely declare their attitude toward the income tax, a bill for which was introduced into the Imperial Duma in 1907. The Ministry of Finance considers that the income tax must be the cornerstone of taxation reform, the lasting foundation whereon must be reared the more complete edifice; without this foundation, the Finance Department is convinced, no serious reform can be effected.

[The Minister then proceeded to give an account of the credit operations effected—short-term Exchequer bonds and long-term bonds.]

Let me dwell upon the growth of deposits in the savings banks. The growth of deposits in the State banks, (on account of monetary deposits and interest-bearing paper of depositors,) for the year of war amounted to (in millions of rubles):

	Monetary Deposits. 1914.	Paper (Securities) 1915. of Depositors.	Interest Bearing Deposits. Jan.-May 82.7
July....	— 41.7	Jan. + 55.9	
Aug....	+ 10.9	Feb. + 44.5	
Sep....	+ 29.5	Mar. + 46.0	
Oct....	+ 26.2	Apr. + 47.8	
Nov....	+ 38.8	May + 50.8	
Dec....	+ 44.8	June + 55.0	
	+108.5	+300.0	+82.7
	+382.7		
+491.2 +85.6 per cent. added to deposits = 576.8			

The average annual growth for the last

decade amounted to 48,300,000 rubles, (£5,098,000.) The growth noted during the war is undoubtedly the result of the establishment of temperance among the people. If we compare the decline of the liquor revenue with the growth of deposits in the savings banks for the six months of 1915, we obtain the following figures:

Liquor Revenue. (In millions of rubles.)	Growth of Deposits in Savings Banks. (In millions of rubles.)
In 1915 less by—	1915.
January ... — 77.6	+ 55.9
February ... — 77.0	+ 44.5
March — 53.5	+ 46.0
April — 66.8	+ 47.8
May — 69.8	+ 50.8
June — 61.1	+ 55.0
Total — 405.8	+300.0
Interest paper from Jan. 1 (14) to July 1, (14,) 1915.....	+ 82.7
	+382.7

If savings continue on the same scale we shall have for the year a growth of between 600,000,000 and 700,000,000 rubles, instead of the usual 40,000,000 to 60,000,000 rubles. With the object of further attracting popular savings into the State savings banks and their further rapprochement with the population, we have in view at the present time, with the expansion of the scope of the banks' operations, a considerable increase of their number. The principal measure in this respect must be the opening of postal institutions under volost boards, invested with the functions of savings banks.

Let me recall that in my explanations of the budget in April, 1914, I noted the tasks of the Ministry of Finance for the fulfillment of the imperial rescript of Jan. 30, (Feb. 12,) 1914, concerning the establishment of temperance among the people, in the following words: On Jan. 1, (14,) 1914, we had 8,500 savings banks and 25,300 State wineshops. The Ministry of Finance will exert all its efforts to close the wineshops and in their place open savings banks. And when the ratios are reversed 25,300 savings banks, with the same animated monetary turnover as in the wineshops, and 8,500 State wineshops, then the problem set before us will have been solved.

By command of his Imperial Majesty, all the State wineshops are now closed, and here we see what a sober Russian people means: the country is unrecognizable; shirking has diminished in the mills and the working capacity of the employes has increased; in families where not infrequently the reek of intoxication used to manifest itself in the most horrible forms the inmates breathe freely; crime has diminished; an entire revolution has taken place in the popular psychology. The greatest reform achieved by command of the Czar must now be strengthened by an entire series of measures of an ethical character in the spiritual educational sphere, where the measures of the Government, however, can bring benefit only if public institutions and organizations extend to it support in this sacred cause.

Upon the Ministry of Finance devolves the duty of guarding as far as possible the foundations upon which our pecuniary savings rest. The principal one of these is indisputably our gold security. For its protection, following the example of the majority of the belligerent States, during the first days of the war we suspended the exchange of credit notes for gold. Sight was not lost of the necessity of promoting the further attraction of gold into the coffers of the State Bank. To this end were adopted such measures as the sale of foreign exchange on easy terms by the Special Chancellery in the credit section in case of payment for the same in gold, and also measures for the facilitation of the influx of gold coin from circulation into the State Bank.

Concurrently with the above the Government entered into consideration of the question of the possible encouragement of the extensive development of our gold industry by means of the grant of tax exemptions, the facilitation of the acquisition abroad of the necessary implements for obtaining gold, and the creation of easier conditions for occupation in this industry in comparison with those under the existing law. In particular, the State Bank ameliorated the conditions of credit for gold miners. Further, an imperial ukase of Nov. 15, (28,) 1914, established material restrictions, and by a

succeeding provision of the Ministers of Finance a complete embargo was imposed upon the export of gold in popular circulation.

The influx of gold into the coffers of the State Bank for 1914-15 was as follows (in millions of rubles):

	From Jan. 1 to July 8, 1915.	From Jan. 1 to July 8, 1914.	Balance for 1915.
1. By assignment	5.7	13.6	— 7.9
2. Ingots from private banks—			
(a) Acquired	11.5	1.2	+10.3
(b) Accepted for safe- keeping	9.3	....	+ 9.3
	26.5	14.8	+11.7
Receipts of coin in ex- change for foreign currency and from circulation	4.0	....	+ 4.0
	30.5	14.8	+15.7

[The fall in the exchange value of the ruble was next discussed by the Minister.]

Foreign trade forms the Gordian knot by which is constricted the fate of our exchange question. To find a sword to sever this knot is not so easy, and only the resumption of normal conditions of international trade can unravel it. This, of course, does not absolve us from the necessity of adopting all accessible measures for the amelioration of the unfavorable state of things created in this sphere which, nevertheless, does not constitute the lot of Russia alone in this war. The measures which we have adopted for the possible mitigation of this phenomenon—for the satisfaction of the demand for foreign exchange—were directed to the acquisition of the greatest possible stock of currency by means of the realization of a series of loans on foreign markets to an amount exceeding one and a half milliard of rubles, (£158,330,000,) which were applied to cover payments on account of military orders and foreign loans, and also for the satisfaction of the needs of trade and industry.

Moreover, with a view to the speediest redemption of the ante-war indebtedness of our private credit institutions and commercial and industrial enterprises on the Paris money market, our State Bank

entered into an agreement with the Banque de France for the opening by the latter of credits amounting to 500,000,000 rubles (£52,770,000) in favor of our private credit institutions and individual commercial and industrial enterprises. A similar agreement for the opening of credits for the needs of trade and industry up to £10,000,000 was reached with the Bank of England also.

Such are the totals of what has hitherto been done in this sphere. We were able to attain these results thanks to the close financial unity which was established between the powers of the Quadruple Entente and strengthened by the agreement which took place in January this year in Paris between the Ministries of Finance of the three allied States. Postulating the common principle that all three allied powers, while availing themselves first of all of their own resources, must come to each other's help wherever this is most necessary, with the assets of which each country disposes in the greatest degree, the agreement opened for us a path for the utilization of credit in France and England, with a view to the unhindered execution of orders essential to national defense and for settlements on account of the indebtedness of our trade and industry.

The unity of aims and interests of the allied powers and their readiness to meet each other in the task of mutual support, which have found expression in the Paris agreement, serve as a pledge that in future we shall find in our allies complete preparedness to extend us needful co-operation in the business of satisfying our demand for the means of payment abroad.

Nevertheless, we also on our part must apply all measures not to increase orders abroad without extreme necessity. Unfortunately, our industry is not yet sufficiently strong to serve all our military needs, and for the fulfillment of the latter we are compelled to appeal to foreign markets. But, concurrently with this, in the huge sphere of private demands we are accustomed to buy a great deal abroad, and among the latter a large quantity of articles are far from being

of primary necessity. Now, during the heavy labor of war, every extra ruble spent abroad aggravates our payment balance, increases our foreign indebtedness, and weakens the foundations of our currency. We must remember this, and in every way strive to obtain at home in Russia all that we Russian people require. But in the task of satisfying our demands with the means available inside the country it is necessary at the present exceptional time to observe the utmost thrift. I cannot refrain from recalling the words of the British Premier, Mr. Asquith, who appealed to his fellow-citizens in private life to observe persistent thrift just now. If such a summons has resounded in England, a wealthy country, where for centuries have been amassed large stores of private capital, then all the more necessary is this summons among us in Russia, a land poor in capital. Let us be thrifty at home, let us remember that all means must be directed to one end—to create everything indispensable to crush the foe encroaching upon our native land.

In dwelling upon another phenomenon which is engaging public attention in the sphere of economic interests, the rise in prices, it must be pointed out that the increased cost of the bulk of commodities under the influence of the war constitutes a phenomenon common to both the belligerent and many neutral States. In England the prices of grain products have risen 55 to 80 per cent., sugar 72 per cent., and coal 50 to 80 per cent. In France the price of cereals has risen 9 to 42 per cent., sugar 35 to 50 per cent., and meat 20 to 30 per cent. Even in the United States grain products have gone up in price from 30 to 85 per cent., copper 44 per cent., and sugar on several markets almost to 50 per cent. The explanation of this universal phenomenon of contemporary economic life, especially as regards the belligerent States, must be sought primarily in the disturbance of commercial transactions and industrial activity under the influence of the war in general and, in particular, owing to those extraordinary measures which the belligerents are obliged to adopt for the uninterrupted equip-

ment of their armies. These causes have exerted their influence among us also; nevertheless, the rise in prices observed among us on the whole does not exceed the bounds with which our allies are required to reckon. Besides the aforesaid natural, elementarily operating, and insuperable factors which are evoking this phenomenon, it is also developing under the influence of several artificial causes the necessity for the abrogation of which is an object of the special attention of the Government, whose measures, however, can lead to definite results only in case the Government finds the friendly support of public institutions and organizations.

In adopting measures for the discovery of means indispensable for the satisfaction of the demands called forth by the war, the Government must at the same time concern itself with the extension of suitable credit aid to trade, industry, and agriculture, in the shape of support of the economic life of the country in war time.

[Having referred to the operations of the State Bank, the Minister proceeded.]

Special financial measures were required for the maintenance of the productive capacity of the population of localities directly subjected to the influence of the war. In addition to active support in the way of food, seeding, and the repair of destroyed dwellings, a special organization was created to render pecuniary aid to the inhabitants of the Polish provinces and contiguous districts in order to restore the husbandry destroyed by the war. For this cause the sum of 50,000,000 rubles (£5,280,000) was assigned from the Treasury on easy, but strictly credit terms, and the State Bank was also allowed to open supplementary credits on easy terms for credit institutions of the Polish and contiguous provinces.

Attention must also be paid to the task of utilizing the curative properties of many localities of our Fatherland so lavishly endowed in this respect, principally for the treatment of sick and wounded soldiers. Besides the issue of means for the equipment of State sanatoria and the grant of loans to private

companies and individuals to encourage the development of the existing and the construction of new sanatoria, it was proposed to enlist also the loan capital of the land banks and the resources of urban and Zemstvo credit.

If to what has been said is added reference to a series of measures for the creation of easy conditions in the payment of rates and taxes for the men enlisted, and for the population of the localities suffering from the war, the establishment of reduced railway tariffs for the conveyance of military freight, the families of reservists, the removal of inhabitants of the affected localities and laborers to regions requiring the same, a general idea will have been given of the scope of the assistance extended by the State to the popular economic needs arising out of the war.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from mentioning the allowance received by families of reservists called to the colors.

The law of June 25, (July 8,) 1912, placed the care of soldiers' families upon lasting foundations. Not only the family of the enlisted man, his wife and children, but also his near kindred, father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother, brothers and sisters, if they have been supported by the labor of the recruit, enjoy a monetary guarantee to the extent of the cost of the food required for normal and healthy subsistence.

Since the beginning of the war up to July 15, (28,) of the current year, about 500,000,000 rubles have been disbursed from the resources of the Treasury on alimentary aid, and careful observation testifies that, thanks to extensive State assistance proceeding hand in hand with special solicitude for recruits' families displayed by the public, inspired by the lofty example of her Imperial Majesty the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, who personally directs the activity of the High Council for the care of sufferers from the war, and their families, and of other members of the imperial household, the dependents of our soldiers, who with unexampled heroism are shedding their blood on the battlefield, are not experiencing privation.

Many other responsible tasks will be

brought to the fore in the economic sphere by the war with all its varied influence on the domestic order and the external relations of our economic state. Their fulfillment lies ahead. At present we may note with satisfaction that, however onerous the trials to which the war has subjected our peoples' husbandry, these trials have not ruptured our material forces, which in the forge have only been tempered and strengthened.

It is impossible to doubt that the Russian people will be lacking in good-will to come to the aid of the State with their resources in the hour of difficulty. There is no need to remind you that upon each of us who remain in the rear of our brave army and with trepidation follow

its martial exploits, lies the sacred duty of serving the common cause according to his strength and intelligence. But one method of serving this cause is open to the majority of us. Without hesitating to restrict personal needs and requirements, oblivious to luxury and comfort, let everybody lend his savings, however small they may be, to the State, remembering that the means confided to the Treasury in small streams will flow into a wide current from which will be drawn forces for the maintenance of the martial might of our warriors. Subduing self, subordinating personal aims to the benefit of the State, we will conquer the foe who has encroached upon the honor and majesty of our native land.

Germany's Ten War Loan Commandments

A new set of ten commandments, compiled for the encouragement of actual or potential subscribers to the third war loan, has appeared in the chief German newspapers. The commandments run as follows:

1. Thou shalt let no day pass without reflecting that money is needed to carry on the war.
2. Thou shalt not forget that thy brothers in the field, who are shedding their blood for thee, have the right to demand that thou shalt make their victory easy.
3. Thou shalt constantly remember that victory can only be won if the State be freed from all pecuniary anxiety.
4. Thou shalt bear in mind that the duty to pay is the lightest sacrifice called for by the war.
5. Thou shalt be thankful that the State offers thee in return for thy money so valuable a consideration as the 5 per cent. war loan.
6. Thou shalt bear well in mind that a 5 per cent. bond of the German Empire represents a rare opportunity, for the like of which thou wilt have to pay a much higher price later than during the period ending on Sept. 22.
7. Thou shalt appreciate the fact that with the German Empire as debtor the security of the war loan is guaranteed, and that there is no stronger guarantee in existence.
8. Thou shalt preserve the conviction that the power of the empire and its economic strength form the unshakable foundations of its credit.
9. Thou shalt make thy resolve the easier by the certain knowledge that in subscribing to the new war loan thou art not compelled to hand over any ready money.
10. Thou shalt leave thy money at the Post Office, or with some deposit or savings bank, earmarked for the war loan, and shalt thereby discover how simple a process it is made for every German to have his share in the subscription.

Latin America as It Is Today

By Julius Moritzen

WHETHER for peace or war, all signs point in the direction of co-operative measures between the republics of the Americas. With the strengthening of the commercial bonds a new political relationship is already in sight. Subjoined will be found various expressions by leaders in their respective countries and spheres of influence. Europe's position today, as contrasted to what obtained before the war, also is brought out by what leading publicists abroad have had to say about the entrance of the United States in the world markets opened up south of the Panama Canal.

While for the present intercourse between Germany and South America has come to a standstill as a result of the European war, and the consequent disappearance from the two oceans of German warships and merchantmen, there is accumulating evidence that Germany has no intention to let go a trade which has been won through hard work only, and in the face of great competition.

One of the best evidences that at the end of the war Germany expects not only to regain its former foothold, but will strive to enlarge its field of operation is contained in the reports that come from such commercial centres as Hamburg and Bremen. In Berlin, likewise, there is considerable activity in the direction of keeping South American customers of Germany interested until the close of the war, when the Germans expect again to purvey on a large scale in tropical America.

German optimism regarding its foreign trade following the titanic struggle that centres around the continuance of Germany as a world power with colonial ambition is fairly well expressed by what Dr. Herbig, an expert on international commerce, recently wrote in the *Koelnische Zeitung*, as follows:

OPTIMISM PREVAILS.

Germany's economic outlook after the war will be far better than any of her

enemies will admit or expect it to be. While there is great suffering at present through the loss of life and the destruction of material values of tremendous importance, the Fatherland will emerge in a far better condition than any of the other belligerents.

No one can interfere with the wonderful German organization and discipline which have always been the parents of German success in every field of human activity, despite the effort of England to destroy them. But these efforts will fail, for the same forces will continue to work and advance in the ways which England wanted to bar.

Before the war we saw the course of our economic development rising steadily. All that is needed is that the same conditions should continue in order that our development should proceed in the same way and more rapidly than that of our English cousin, who saw in the encircling policy and suppression by military force the only means of stemming the expansion of Germany.

HAMBURG EXPORT TRADE.

Regarding exports to South America, Hamburg admits that business has been reduced to nil. The *Berliner Tageblatt* discusses the situation frankly in the following manner:

In times of peace the Hamburg exporters were very free in the giving of credits; as a consequence, capital is locked up in the belligerent hostile countries or in neutral countries where a moratorium has been declared. Many Hamburg exporters are, therefore, short of working capital.

It is difficult at present to judge the prospects of the export trade. Export circles in general are confident that after a certain period—though it may be some years—Germany's export will not be much worse off than before the war; in other words, that the exporters will be able to renew their old relations. In the transition period the export trade will have to contend with difficulties.

In judging the extent of the turnover after the conclusion of peace a distinction will have to be made between the products which other countries urgently require from Germany—such as dyes, Kali, sugar, semi-manufactured goods, &c.—and articles which can partly be produced elsewhere.

It may further be taken into account that consumption in all countries is restricted at present, and that on the conclusion of peace, England and North America will not be able to rely on their own productions. The sale of German machinery may be difficult for some time to come, especially in English territory. However, against eventual losses a compensation will be found in the fact that probably exports to the East and the Mohammedan world will be more extensive than before. In South America, economic conditions are gradually being restored.

COMPLAINT OF ANTI-GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

Advices reaching the Berliner Tageblatt from its correspondent in Rio de Janeiro are to the effect that since the organization of the "Liga Brazileira pelos Aliados"—Brazilian League in Favor of the Allies—marked hostility has been shown German residents who have not heretofore felt themselves wrongly placed in the capital, which, generally speaking, is in favor of the Quadruple Entente. It says:

The well-known Brazilian politician, Ruy Barbosa, is at the head of this Brazilian anti-German league. He, with Irinen Machado, have made themselves the mouthpieces for the public opinion of Brazil. They have seized upon the visit of the special commission headed by M. Baudin of France as an occasion for making an accusation against Germany. It may be added that the mission, according to German-Brazilian newspapers, was far from being the success that the French papers made it out to be.

During one of the sittings of the commission from France the following was stated and sanctioned by the "Liga Brazileira pelos Aliados": The German Government violated the neutrality of Belgium; destroyed churches and libraries; levied tribute on cities; shot prisoners of war; massacred old men, women and children; has sunk merchantmen.

The Liga further accepts as fact that while Austria and Hungary and Turkey are fellow-conspirators with Germany, the latter is chiefly to blame for all that is taking place. It advises all neutrals to line up with the allied powers.

The Liga must shoulder the responsibility for these accusations. It will hardly succeed, however, to convince the public, which is now receiving the real facts about the war through daily wireless messages.

BERNHARD DERNBURG ACTIVE.

By combining the German-Argentine Central Association with the German-

Brazilian Commercial Association, the German Economical Association for South and Central America has been created as a most striking evidence that German commercial interests propose to keep up their fight for a conspicuous place in "the sun" of tropical America.

According to the Amsterdam correspondent of Reuter's, as telegraphed to London, the speech of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, when elected President of the German Economical Association for South and Central America, was in part as follows:

At the present time Germany has but a few friends in the world. Sentiment in South America is divided, and the real neutrality of North America is doubtful. It is not uninteresting to remember that Viscount Haldane, then Lord High Chancellor, explained to the merchants of Manchester that now was their chance to snatch from Germany forever commercial supremacy.

Continuance of the war will compel us to find new openings, for the commercial re-capture of markets, now lost, will become more difficult. Without coal and iron South America will always be dependent on industrial States. Therefore, the investing of more capital in South America would be well worth while with a view of gaining lost ground. Besides strengthening our economic, it would be important also to obtain the moral, influence, which hitherto has been greatly underestimated.

We have failed to understand not only the sentiment in Southern America, but even that of other peoples, and, therefore, find few friends among the neutrals. This is greatly the fault of the Germans, who must learn to understand peoples and to introduce German achievements in science and technics among them with more discretion than heretofore. Only too often the German merchant shows the lack of friendly disposition toward merchants abroad, which is of special weight with the Southern peoples.

Bearing on the same subject, Herr Maschke, President of the German-Brazilian Association, said that the new enterprise was intended to prepare during the war for future developments, and that Germany's connection with South and Central American countries, which played a most important part in the nation's commerce, would be closer rather than otherwise after the war.

South America, as United States Consuls View the Situation

THE improvement in United States Consular representation which has been noticeable within recent years, as a result of the greater efforts put forth by the State Department, has proved of exceptional value touching the Latin-American republics, where European competition in past times has been a considerable handicap to the gathering of correct information concerning business matters. The great war abroad, however, found American Consuls in South America fully equipped, and statistics now regularly furnished Washington may be relied upon to show with measurable exactness just how conditions are shaping themselves in the southern republics.

Recent reports to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce are subjoined:

Consul General L. J. Kenna, Valparaiso, Chile.—The past week recorded the first sale of any importance of Chilean nitrate in which payment was accepted by the producers in New York exchange. The sale, to an American firm, represented 4,000 tons of nitrate, and the draft on New York in payment was in the neighborhood of \$155,000 United States currency. London exchange has always been the preferred exchange in the nitrate fields, because it was the custom, because it is regularly quoted, because nitrate freights are quoted in English currency and are payable in London exchange, and all market prices of nitrate are quoted in sterling. The war has, however, made possible the exchange of bills on New York in payment of some nitrate purchases.

Consul Homer Brett, La Guayra, Venezuela.—That Venezuelan merchants are adapting themselves to changed commercial conditions is evidenced by the fact that while the imports at La Guayra for the last six months of 1914 were only 7,169,990 bolivars—a bolivar is equal to

\$0.193—for the first six months of 1915 they amounted to 16,000,000 bolivars. For the first-named period merchandise to the value of 3,237,129 bolivars came from the United States, while the corresponding value for the second period was only slightly less than 10,000,000 bolivars. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1915, 160,606 sacks of cocoa and 141,793 sacks of coffee were exported from La Guayra.

Consul General Goding, Guayaquil, Ecuador.—Ecuador has a timber area of about 90,000 square miles, 10,000 of which are on the west slope of the Andes and below the 5,000-foot elevation. The total area of the republic has been estimated at 116,000 square miles—equal to the combined area of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. The average price per thousand feet of the common lumber, such as robe, laurel, suche, figuerosa, &c., in Guayaquil is from \$40 to \$50 in United States gold.

Consul Madin Summers, Sao Paulo, Brazil.—As rice and beans are the most common articles of food in the Sao Paulo section of Brazil and might be called the national dishes, the crops of both have received special attention from the agricultural authorities. The present rice crop in the State of Sao Paulo, however, appears to be very short, and there is a possibility that large quantities will have to be imported from abroad. The municipalities producing rice, in order of their importance, are Iguape, Monte Alto, Taubate, Barretos, Guaratingueta, Franca, Igarapava, and Pindamonhangaba. The average prices are as follows: No. 1 Agulha, (needle,) clean, \$8 to \$9; No. 2, \$7 to \$7.50; No. 3, \$6.50 to \$7; Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Cattete, same as Agulha, possibly a little less.

Consul General W. Henry Robertson, Buenos Aires, Argentina.—The Bureau of Agricultural Statistics and Rural Economy of the Ministry of Agriculture has issued a new estimate of the production of wheat, flax, and oats for the season 1914-15. The yield is a total of 4,585,000 tons of wheat, 1,125,500 of flax, and 831,000 of oats. The yield is given in metric tons of 2,204.6 pounds each. Compared with previous forecasts for this same year, the estimate indicates a decrease in each case, due to heavy rains and inundations in various parts of the grain belt, which very seriously retarded thrashing operations as well.

Consul William W. Handley, Callao, Peru.—Boilers of practically every well-known class and make are employed in Peru by the several breweries, sugar industries, ice plants, gas and electric plants, and public buildings of various kinds. The Cochrane vertical cross-tube appears to be the type most commonly found for the smaller installations, while the Lancashire model is most extensively used in the sugar refineries and similar large plants. The water-tube boilers in sections are commonly demanded in the mines and interior places by reason of the mule and llama pack mode of conveyance that has to be provided in certain out-of-the-way parts of the republic. The Babcock and Wilcox and a large number of upright boilers are also employed. The size and working pressure called for vary according to the indi-

vidual requirements along these lines. Boilers, without distinction of classes, &c., are admitted into Peru free of duty.

Consul Ross Hazeltine, Cartagena, Colombia.—The establishment of a Pan-American literature exchange, sufficiently equipped and carefully organized, would no doubt prove to be a commercial as well as an artistic success. Such an exchange would mark a distinct advancement in the cultural relations of the United States with Latin America, constituting a co-ordinate step with the exchange of professors and students, and ultimately leading to a more sympathetic understanding between the republics of the Western Hemisphere. The temperament and natural instincts of the Latin Americans are essentially artistic. The percentage of potential writers, orators, and artists is very high. This continual striving, especially in the field of literature, occasionally produces a work of unquestioned merit, of which little or nothing is known in English-speaking countries. This is, for obvious reasons, more often the case with fiction and poetry than with the drama. The contrasts between the character of North American and South American literature is notable, but the appreciation on both sides is keen, even if not widespread. Acquaintance with Spanish literature in the United States is, on the whole, decidedly limited. It is perhaps confined to such well-known writers as Cervantes, Calderon de la Barca, Alarcon, and Quevedo.

Argentina's Neutrality Plea

In its effort to maintain strict neutrality the Argentine Republic has had the co-operation of the leading political and economic organizations. The Museo Social Argentino, including in its membership many of the most influential men in the country, has placed itself on record by issuing the following manifesto, framed as a communication addressed to Dr. José Luis Murature, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

THE exercise of the right to destroy or capture merchant ships under an enemy's flag in a state of war which comprises so many nations leaves American commerce exposed to unforeseen dangers of great magnitude, since a great part of such commerce is done

in foreign vessels, necessarily and unavoidably.

It is not sufficient for its security that neutral freights be exempt from confiscation, since delays and transshipments, together with the damages incurred, would occasion losses which, at

times, would be irreparable, to say nothing of the increase in freights, insurance and other shipping expenses.

There is no reason whatever why the inter-American commerce should be obliged to suffer the contingencies emanating from these circumstances, because they are not a necessary and inevitable consequence of the war itself. Traffic taking place between American ports exclusively in reality does not harm nor favor the belligerents. It may be stated from a military point of view they can have no actual interest in destroying the vessels under an enemy's flag, and still less in taking possession of their neutral cargoes, which they must restore to their owners in accordance with the principles of international law.

Such vessels are not giving any direct or military service to the country whose flag they carry; they are occupied in a neutral service, so that their destruction does not respond to the immediate necessities of war, but rather to the purpose of inflicting upon the enemy a more remote and indirect damage, by the loss suffered by the respective merchant marines.

Based on such considerations, the Museo Social Argentino considers that it might be indispensable to promote

what might be called the pacific isolation of America, requiring the recognition of a new formula of international law, which might be expressed in the following or similar terms:

1. The maritime commerce between the American countries shall be considered as inter-American coasting trade, providing it be directly effected between the ports of non-belligerent American countries, and that the vessels do not depart from routes to be determined within the continental waters of America. 2. The merchant vessels which are occupied in inter-American coasting trade must be considered as neutral, although they may be sailing under the flag of countries which are in a state of war.

To recapitulate: The Museo Social Argentino desires to obtain the adhesion of the Government, of the press and of the United States to the idea of proceeding in accord with the other American States to demand from the belligerents in the present European war the strict observance of the principles and conventions which guarantee the liberty and safety of the maritime commerce of neutrals in general. And to procure the recognition of a principle guaranteeing the neutrality of inter-American coasting trade for the benefit of peace and commerce of our continent.

Latin-American Brevities

THE Government of Argentina estimates receipts and expenditures for 1916 at \$144,876,786 in cash and \$849,200 in bonds and obligations. As against the budget for 1915, a saving of about \$17,000,000 is expected next year.

The schools of the American Institute at La Paz and Cochabamba, Bolivia, are modeled after the preparatory schools for boys in the United States, and have literary societies, athletic clubs, Boy Scouts, &c. The Directors are George M. McBride at La Paz and John E. Washburn at Cochabamba.

A wireless telegraph station is under construction at Durango, Mexico, with equipment sufficiently powerful to communicate with wireless stations at Torreon, Saltillo, Mazatlan, Juarez, Chapultepec, and the City of Mexico.

The excellent showing of the Argentine Republic at the Panama-Pacific Exposition is due in large measure to the liberality of the South American Government, which appropriated \$1,700,000 for the purpose of adequately displaying the country's resources.

With the Hon. W. Cameron Forbes receiver for the Brazil Railway Company, the affairs of this enterprise are expected to advance, following the recent statement given the bondholders in England and in the United States.

During the last fiscal year 40,530 immigrants entered Cuba. Of the total, 31,821 came from Spain. The cash brought into the island by the new arrivals amounted to \$1,073,070.

President Manuel Estrada Cabrera of Guatemala has appointed the following to act on the boundary commission with Honduras: Claudio Urrutia, Chief Engineer; Felipe Rodriguez, Domingo; Conde Florencio Santizo, Salvador Castillo, and Eugenio Rosal, assistants. Marcial Preu is legal adviser.

Santiago, Chile, is making preparations toward the organization of a Latin-American workmen's congress. Labor organizations throughout South and Central America have been notified, but no exact date has yet been fixed for the gathering.

The Congress of Costa Rica has decreed a new national holiday, April 11, in honor of the patriot, Juan Santamaria, and in remembrance of the important battle of Rivas.

A new Colombian city is to be built on the Girardot railway line near Esperanza station. The city is to be called La Magdalena, and the location is considered one of the most advantageous, both from a commercial and hygienic standpoint.

Following a recent consignment of 6,000 steers to packing houses in St. Louis, Mo., ranch owners in Honduras

are getting ready to export cattle on a large scale.

Japanese exporters, with the assistance of the Japanese Government, have established a permanent trading exposition in Santiago, Chile, with a view to capturing the German business in the republic. The prices are made so low as to meet competition from any quarter.

Buenos Aires newspapers take considerable interest in the visit of the Argentine Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Romulo S. Naon, who has been named as a possible candidate in the next Presidential election.

San Salvador, capital of the Republic of Salvador, has elected a new Mayor in the person of Dr. Enrique Gonzales Serano, one of the progressive men of the country, who considers it essential that trade relations with the United States should be increased.

The three important packing establishments in Paraguay are located in the Department of Concepcion, in the centre of a district with 2,000,000 head of cattle. The La Fonciere ranch has over 100,000 head on its grazing lands.

The University of Havana has appointed Dr. Antonio S. Bustamante and Dr. Fernando Sanchez de Fuentes to represent Cuba at the Pan-American Scientific Congress, to be held at Washington from Dec. 15 to Jan. 8, 1916.

A new executive decree of Peru provides that in order for a trademark or label to be entitled to national registry a part of the inscriptions or legends must be in Spanish and the name of the factory be shown.

Mexico and the Land Problem

By Luis Cabrera

In view of the fact that General Venustiano Carranza has won the recognition of the United States and the Latin-American Governments concerned in the conferences having to do with Mexican peace, the following statement by Luis Cabrera, Minister of Finance in the Carranza Government, contained in an address, has a peculiarly significant and timely bearing on the situation in the neighboring republic.

MEXICO has a population of 15,000,000 inhabitants, 15 per cent. of which are Indians, 75 per cent. mixed or "mestizos," and 10 per cent. of European descent. Each one of these groups presents different characteristics, and even the mestizos cannot be said to be homogeneous, since there are various racial types among them.

Mexico, however, has no real race problem. Properly speaking, there are no insoluble conflicts between the various elements of the nation, because the Indians are easily assimilated by the mestizos, and, as a matter of fact, when the Indians receive education or mix with the mestizos they immediately become identified with them. A full-blooded Indian who has received a certain amount of education is always sure to keep it, and he never shows any retrogressive tendencies, so that we can say that the effects of education upon the native Indians of Mexico are of a permanent character.

On the other hand, the mestizos element of the population of Mexico intermarry very easily with the Europeans, particularly with the Spaniards and French, and as soon as they have received a proper education or have acquired some economic welfare they can be considered on practically the same level as any of the European residents.

The principal causes of revolution in Mexico are undoubtedly of an economic, and chiefly of an agrarian, character. The colonial policies followed by the Spaniards when they conquered Mexico consisted in taking possession of the greatest part of the lands of New Spain to grant them to the Spanish conquerors. Extensive land concessions were granted, now in favor of the Church, now in favor of the Spanish soldiers, leaders, chieftains, or mere settlers.

Together with each one of these large concessions granted in favor of the Spaniards a large number of Indians were also assigned to them, with the apparent object of educating and Christianizing them, but with the real purpose of obtaining slaves, or land serfs, to cultivate and develop the lands granted.

INDIANS IN BONDAGE.

With regard to the Indian towns already existing at the time of the conquest, they were theoretically respected, together with their lands. New towns were also laid out as Indian reservations, providing them with sufficient lands, which were called "egidos" and "propios," for the common use of all the inhabitants. The colonial policies of Spain resulted, therefore, in the formation of a wealthy class of landholders, as against the Indian population, which found itself either assigned to the estates as land serfs or concentrated in Indian towns.

In 1810 the freedom of the slaves and Indians was officially decreed by Hidalgo, but the independence of Mexico having been accomplished by the wealthy landholders, the situation of the Indians was not materially changed, and the lower classes still remained in a state of actual servitude, although, theoretically, slavery had been already abolished.

We can safely say that up to 1856 the only real estate property of any importance which was not in the hands of the Spanish great landholders was the property of the Church and the "commons" of the Indian towns.

The Church had been acquiring large territorial property, obtained either by direct concessions from the Government or by donations and foundations from private sources.

The towns still were owning their communal lands, granted to them, as stated

above, for the purpose of grazing, timbering, farming, and watering, and which were called "egidos." The characteristic aspect of the agrarian questions in Mexico was for nearly two centuries the obstinate defense made by the towns against the great landholders who always tried to invade the communal lands. From 1856 to 1859 certain laws were enacted, and the liberal administration of Juarez, for political reasons, was compelled to deprive the Church of its properties and to begin to appropriate them to private individuals who wished to acquire them at low prices. As a consequence of the laws, the "egidos" of the towns began to be divided up and apportioned in small parcels among the inhabitants, for the purpose of creating small agricultural properties, but through ignorance and lack of means those lands were immediately resold to the great landholders whose properties were adjacent to the "egidos."

LARGE LAND HOLDINGS.

About 1876, at the beginning of the "Porfirista" régime, the real property of the Church had already passed into the hands of private individuals, and the communal properties of the towns were beginning to be divided among the masses. There still remain, however, large estates owned by old wealthy families of Spanish origin, and which are now responsible for the present agrarian conflict.

The "Porfirista" régime—the administration of General Porfirio Diaz—can be defined by saying that it consisted in putting the power in the hands of the large landholders, thus creating a feudal system. The political, social, and economic influence exerted by landholders during General Diaz's administration was so considerable and so advantageous to them that it hampered the development

of the small agricultural property, which could otherwise have been formed from the division of ecclesiastical and communal lands.

The communal lands, or "egidos," used to be a means to ease to a certain extent the conditions in which the small agriculturists found themselves, by affording them the opportunity of increasing their income out of what they could get from the use of the commons. But the condition of actual servitude in which the peon has always been was accentuated and aggravated when the "egidos" disappeared, because, on the one hand, he was no more in a position to resort to the products of those communal lands, and, on the other hand, the great influence of the landholders was used as a political means to make peons work on the haciendas and keep them in an actual state of slavery.

The largest part of the inhabitants of towns where "egidos" have disappeared, being necessarily compelled to live on the wages they get from working on the farms, and these wages being not enough to cover their expenses, it had become the common practice to advance money to the peons as a loan on account of future wages. This system of lending the peons small amounts of money had resulted in accumulating huge debts on their shoulders. These debts were used as a pretext to keep the peons always at the service of the land owners, and the peon himself has been under the impression that he was legally bound to remain on the farm as long as he had not paid up his debts. These debts, as a rule, were transferred from father to son, thus creating in the rural population of the farm, not only an actual condition of slavery, but the moral conviction among the peons themselves that peonage was a necessary evil which the laws authorized.



Germany's England

From the "England-buch" of the Taegliche Rundschau

- I. Vice Admiral Kirchhoff: England's Policy of Plunder
- II. Professor Dr. W. Dibelius: The Shopkeepers' War
- III. Dr. Otto Kuntzemueller: The English, God's Chosen People

I.

England's Policy of Plunder

By Vice Admiral Kirchhoff of the German Imperial Navy

IN the third part of Alfred Stenzel's "History of Maritime Warfare" the concluding views of the War of the Spanish Succession, two hundred years ago, from 1702 to 1713, are introduced with the following words: "Thus the Peace of Utrecht was primarily a great success for England, whose position as a world power was now firmly established; England was now the sea power, the world power." A consideration of the manner in which England has kept this position in the last two hundred years should be very opportune.

Even while the peace negotiations were going on at Utrecht, England, the ally of Holland, by whose potent aid she had crushed her chief adversaries, France and Spain, showed herself in her true light; that is, faithless and ruthless in all and every relation. From now on England became Holland's keenest antagonist, the Dutch fleet having been almost destroyed in the long war. The Dutch had learned too late that only those could safely ally themselves with England who are sufficiently powerful to stand up against her effectively at any moment. England had finally accomplished the weakening of all her rivals on the sea, her tyrant fortresses (Gibraltar, later Malta, Aden, and so on) soon dominated every part of the world, her policy knew thenceforth only one goal, openly and secretly, by any and every means, to prevent the rise of a second strong sea power. Now, after

two hundred years, it will be seen whether this most insatiable of all countries is at last played out, as far as concerns her dominance on the sea.

The perpetually ambiguous system of England made its appearance in the Baltic as early as 1720. The English squadrons brought it to pass, at the end of the long northern war, by skillful underhand management, that neither of the chief adversaries, Russia and Sweden, was in a condition to crush completely or to annihilate the other. The northern war is a particularly illuminating example of the complete dependence of military aims in sea warfare upon political aims.

A few years earlier an act of unexampled arbitrariness had been carried out by the English fleet, in the Mediterranean, when the Spanish fleet was annihilated by Admiral Sir George Byng at Cape Passaro, at the southwest corner of Sicily, on Aug. 11, 1718. Although there had been no declaration of war, and Admiral Byng's instructions read, "In case Spain sets foot in Italy, if circumstances demanded it, he should intervene with armed force," Byng engaged the equally strong enemy fleet as soon as he approached it, and annihilated it, thus finally disposing of an enemy that might possibly become dangerous later on. In this way England's naval supremacy in the Mediterranean was once more made secure.

Hardly a century later England, with

the help of France and Holland, in time of peace, brought it about that the maritime ambitions of the German Emperor Charles VI. should come to nothing. The Ostend Company, founded by him in 1722, with its headquarters in Antwerp, which had already sent nearly a score of ships to Eastern Asia, and had there established many settlements, he was first forced to suspend in 1727, and five years later was compelled to dissolve it. In a single day its shares fell from 1,228 to 470.

From 1741 to 1748, during the War of the Austrian Succession, as well as before it, a series of acts of English ruthless arbitrariness follow each other: English smuggling in the West Indies, the destruction of Spanish galleys in a French harbor in the Mediterranean, although there was no open state of war; the dispatch of a squadron of English ships against Naples, the four months' blockade of a Spanish fleet in Toulon Harbor by the English fleet, without a declaration of war between France and England, and so on.

In the Seven Years' War, which soon followed, England for the first time successfully introduced in a brilliant manner her future policy of intrigue, inciting the chief Continental powers against each other, while she herself annihilated her enemies on the sea, and continuously enriched herself by maritime warfare, while the great land war was frightfully wasting the wealth of the Continental powers. Her great Prussian ally was the first who had to experience this, as the dispatch of small squadrons to the Baltic would often have been of the greatest advantage to him. But at the same time England, without any justification, permitted attacks by privateers on Prussian merchantmen. In the great war, with the exception of a brief apparition at Hastenbeck at the beginning, England sent no land forces to the Continent, for the first time, but contented herself with supporting the land fighting of her allies with money; the maritime war she kept exclusively for herself. As a result, her commerce flourished everywhere, and for this rea-

son she remained indifferent to the main question in the Baltic.

In the Russo-Turkish wars, from 1768 to 1774, and 1787 to 1792, England was once more successfully employed, in Southern Europe, in preventing any of the combatants from becoming too powerful. The Black Sea also remained a mare clausum like the Baltic Sea.

The great "League of Armed Neutrality," which came into existence in 1780, brought up new and important questions for England to solve. The definition required by it was taken up with great reluctance, and thwarted by every possible means, because English privateering suffered greatly through it.

During the American War of Independence, in the years 1774-1782, the neutrality of foreign States was repeatedly violated by English ships. Thereafter the first period of the coalition war against the French Republic, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is extremely rich in violations of right of every kind. In every direction England seized islands belonging to foreign countries, and points of support, beginning with many islands in the West Indies. The English were continuously successful in injuring the war navies and commercial navies of foreign countries, even of neutrals and allies, while English privateers and cruisers carried on their operations more successfully every year. And in spite of all considerable losses, England's navigation and commerce developed brilliantly, becoming more than 100 per cent. greater than in the preceding time of peace. Smuggling was very cleverly carried on, and where on foreign coasts it brought England profit it was not only tolerated but was successfully promoted. England grew fat on maritime war, while the great war on land wasted the strength of the Continental powers, as before. For England began the period of her monopoly of sea power, which has been unassailable for more than a century.

One of the most notorious violations of right of all time was England's action toward Denmark in the year 1801 and later in 1807. At present many hypo-

critical voices in England try to show that our action toward Belgium is a far worse case of violation of neutrality; history has already pronounced judgment on this.

The "armed neutrality" was revived in a new form at the end of the eighteenth century, because of far more serious arbitrary acts of England toward neutral shipping, so that England was compelled to reform. Denmark's sharp measures taken against the right of visitation of convoys claimed by English warships led finally to a break. The State which Kant called "the most powerful, the most ambitious, the most provocative State," went ruthlessly forward, primarily against Denmark.

By what silken threads Nelson's victory in the battle of Copenhagen Roads on April 2 was suspended, only recently investigations have revealed. The Danes, although the final victory would undoubtedly have belonged to them, allowed themselves to be completely deceived and fooled by Nelson's conscious speeches in his two truce letters.

Even more ruthless was the removal of the Danish fleet in 1807, after Denmark's resistance had been broken by a several days' bombardment of Copenhagen. During the latter more than 1,600 inhabitants of the city were killed by the shot of "humane" England, and more than 1,000 wounded. Let us recall the outcry of England when we bombarded Paris in 1871.

The energetic war which England waged from 1805 to 1810 against the commerce of the whole world was throughout not only the consequence of Napoleon's Continental system. To the tyrant of the sea all means and all ways were now right, if only they were profitable. Smuggling once more burst forth into brilliant bloom; England's shopkeeper spirit and unscrupulousness showed themselves in ways that defy imitation. False flags, false ships' papers and bills of lading, pretended seizures by bribed French privateers, all these means were employed in order to gain a permanent hold of commerce.

The English showed themselves very inventive with the so-called license sys-

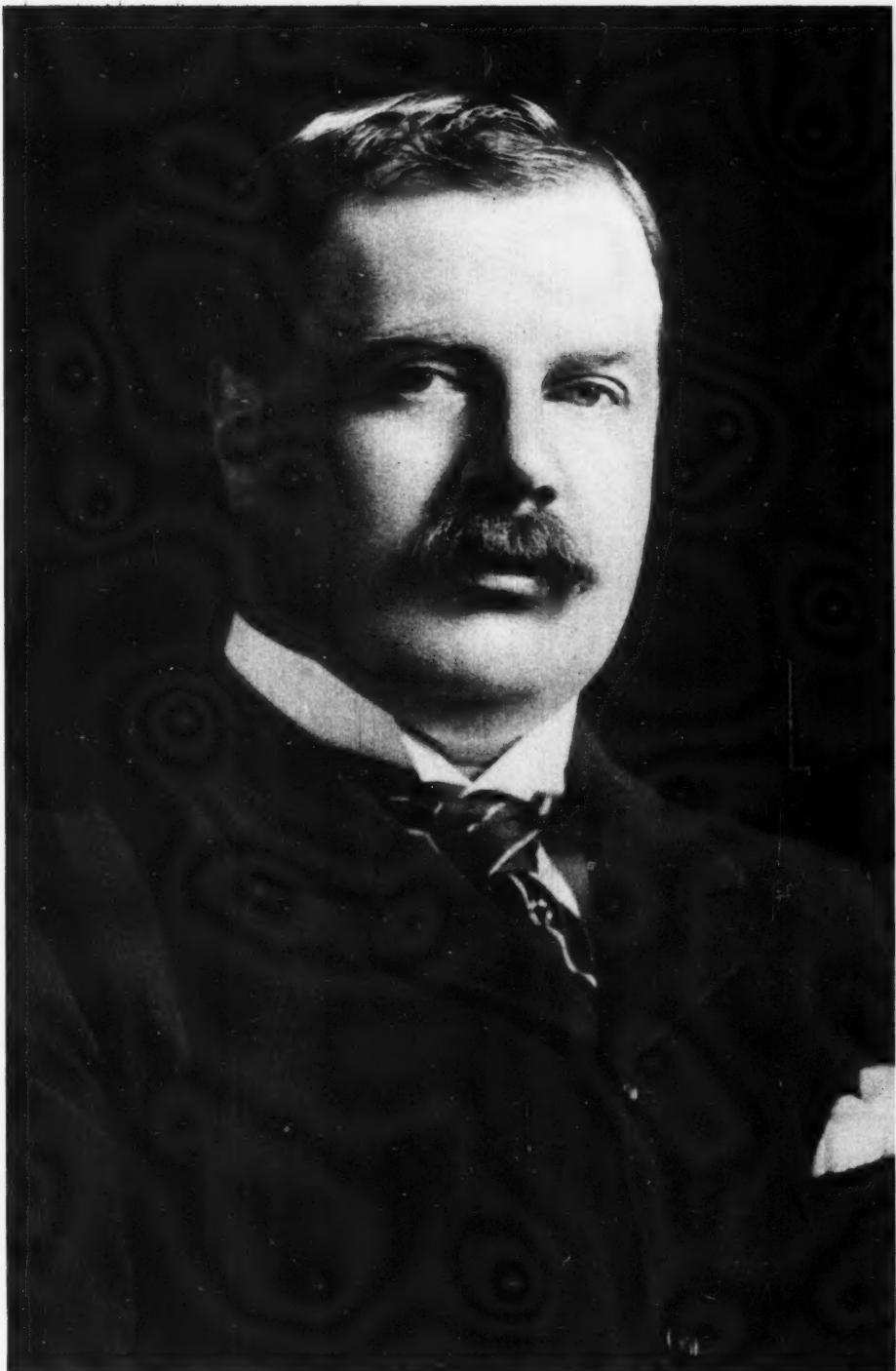
tem, under which foreign ships were permitted to trade in English wares on payment of permit money, thereafter remaining secure from English cruisers and privateers. In 1810 the number of licenses rose to 18,000.

To relate once more how England managed, during the war against Napoleon, to erect her tyrant fortresses in every corner of the globe, and to appropriate the best lands as colonies, for the most part with unbounded arbitrariness, equally whether belonging to friend or foe, would be to "carry owls to Athens," (Malta, Heligoland.)

How England was further able to deprive Prussian Germany of the due reward of victory need only be mentioned here to complete the subject. A hundred years ago the dominion of the world fell unconditionally to England, with the uncomprehending help of all nations, "which saw in England the champion of the rights and independence of Europe, while England never defended any rights but her own," as Goethe strikingly expressed it. During the naval war England injured neutrals and her allies, appropriated large territories, and gained a formal monopoly of commerce and industry. The mighty influence of sea power, which slowly manifested itself, grounded on economic fact, was as yet recognized by no one. Naval warfare remains far from most people, its immediate traces are only casually remarked by the inhabitants of coastal regions. It is otherwise now—steam and telegraph have worked a transformation. We Germans of today know what constitutes England's being and power up to the present; but the recognition of this came to us very late, after the appointed men finally opened our eyes to it.

An attempt which England made in January, 1807, to remove the Turkish fleet as she had removed the Danish, miscarried completely. Admiral Duckworth, after a short bombardment of Constantinople, withdrew through the Dardanelles to the Aegean Sea in ignominious fashion, which bordered on cowardice.

In like manner England's war against the United States, which broke out in



THE EARL OF DERBY

At the Request of Lord Kitchener He Has Assumed Direction of Recruiting
the British Army

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



SIR PERCY SCOTT

Appointed to Take Charge of London's Defenses Against Aircraft Attacks
(Photo from Paul Thompson.)

1812 because of acts of unexampled arbitrariness by the commanders of English ships, who impressed sailors from Americans ships, turned out unfavorably for her.

England's action during the war for the liberation of Greece took peculiar forms. Enthusiastic friends of Greece, with Byron at their head, had driven the Government to active intervention. From a great naval demonstration suddenly developed the battle of Navarino Bay, on Oct. 20, 1827, in which the Turco-Egyptian fleet was completely annihilated by an Anglo-Franco-Russian fleet. The despotic action of Admiral Codrington serves as a fascinating example of the peculiarity of English esoteric policy. A storm of indignation was raised in the country and in Parliament, but this was principally from fear of Russia.

During the second Turco-Egyptian war the arbitrary and tyrannical action of the English Commodore, Napier, was successful in robbing the victorious Mehemed Ali of all his gains. The energetic with its brilliant results was finally recognized by all the powers. A rare example of extraordinary arbitrariness of a subordinate commander in naval warfare. But—it happened because of the Turkish fleet of the enemy, therefore, as always, England alone got the benefit of it.

Soon after the war against the French Empire, England began a course of action in Africa, East India, and Eastern Asia, which was ruthless and filled with self-seeking, often taking the mask of a champion of Christian culture and humanity, a line of action which has been profitable in many ways. Especially were English ships active continuously against the slave trade; but England never for a moment relaxed her efforts to extend still further her territories everywhere on the globe, and laid hold on everything she could, in order to enrich herself and strengthen her power. Among her baser actions, carried out like all the rest, under a mask of false piety, was her repeated action against China in the opium question. But it is just to admit that England, by putting down piracy in every port of the globe,

by the many battles of her ships against Moorish, Central and South American, Chinese and Malay pirates, has accomplished much for the navigation and commerce of all peoples, but always only because her own interests were primarily furthered thereby.

How England showed herself hostile to Germany in the two German-Danish wars is generally known and has been repeatedly explained. This was the occasion of Palmerston's arrogant words concerning the new German fleet in the North Sea.

The Crimean war introduced the new international law of naval warfare, from the acceptance of which England at first expected to profit. But when she saw that this was not so, even that the effect of her own fleet was substantially narrowed by it, an effort was made to render it nugatory. In just the same way England has not yet been brought to recognize the last Declarations of London. From this time forward, the keywords, prohibition of privateering, neutral property, neutral ship, effective blockade and so on, are constantly heard; England explained them all in a sense favorable to herself. These questions form a specially large section of English arbitrary action, as in the present war we must experience anew every day.

England received the first painful blow as a result of her action during the American War of Secession; her dealings with both parties were regardless of justice and insidious, according as English separate interests seemed to demand. England did not show herself sensitive about declaring that the Union must not fit out any privateers, but that such abstinence could not be expected of the South, since this was one of her principal weapons. Commentary is superfluous! The open support of the privateers of the Southern States England was compelled to pay for, to the Union, as the result of a subsequent arbitration award, an evidence that the evil deeds of England also are punished.

In the second German-Danish war England tried several times, by diplomacy, to interfere vigorously, but without success so far as the two allied great

powers were concerned. The most arrogant proceeding was the demand addressed to Austria, that the latter's ships should not sail into the Baltic, but should only guard the German coasts of the North Sea. Consider that this was the definite demand of a neutral State! A quite unheard-of interference with rights! The battles of Dueppel and Alsen made a difference!

From this time forward the unrelaxing efforts to prevent the growth of Germany's commerce and navigation, and, later, Germany's naval growth, began.

While England ruthlessly subjugated one extra-European people after another, her missionary societies scattered millions of translations of the Bible and tracts broadcast among these poor non-Christian peoples, and the English preachers babbled about the blessings of peace. So it came that, during Queen

Victoria's long reign of over sixty years, there was not a single year in which England's mercenaries did not rob and plunder in the most barefaced way. The fundamental impulses of English political action have always and everywhere been the same, and remain so today. Might goes ever before right and justice.

How England proceeded in the case of India and the lands near it; how she appropriated Egypt and won Cyprus for herself; sowed discord openly and secretly in the Balkans; how she attacked the Boers, whose final conquest was attained only by bribing one of their leaders; how England brought the quarrel between Russia and Japan to open hostility; all this lives fresh in our memories.

This short summary of England's arbitrary actions during centuries should show that England's time is come. For the first time she now has an opponent who unites insight, will, and power.

II.

War of the Shopkeepers

English Piratical Attacks on the Economic Life of the Germans

By Prof. Dr. W. Dibelius

SINCE the beginning of the war our enemies across the Channel have been employing every possible means for injuring German trade. German mail sacks have been dropped into the middle of the ocean; German patent rights have been declared valueless; payments due German firms are not allowed. In all earnestness the hope is uppermost that Germany, with the end of the war, will be pushed out of the ranks of leading commercial and industrial nations.

Especially significant, as indicating the purpose of using every agency at the command of modern barbarism, is a series of articles in the English periodical, *The Engineer*, a leading technical journal devoted to industry on a large scale, and which has standing, not only in England, but throughout the world.

The author hopes that as a result of this war, Germany's political and industrial power will be reduced to nothing. He is quite convinced that following this war, no such Germany as now exists will be in evidence. "Humanity," he says, "has decided that this must happen, let the cost be what it may, and the German people, likewise, will never again consent to be governed as has been the case for the last thirty years."

Probably Poland will once more rise up as a vassal to Russia; Bavaria, Hanover, and other German States of lesser size will enter a new phase of their political history as independent countries under international protection! With the destruction of political Germany, Germany as a factor in trade and industry must fare similarly. This will have the

effect of purifying the entire commercial atmosphere, for Germany has not gained its world position through its own efforts, but by employing many sorts of methods of the basest kind. Typical of the German system were "long credits and low prices, diplomatic coercion, bribery of the press, false invoices and a systematic campaign of lies against all competitors." In passing it may be remarked what a wonderful combination is here presented; to the author low prices and long credits apparently are on a par with questionable methods like falsifying and bribery when it comes to opposing British competition.

In the course of the investigation other standpoints are to be considered about the purpose to blot out German industry, and these are entirely Great Britain's concern. The author continually complains, in language replete with touching words, of the backwardness and deficient energy of his own country. The English plants are on the whole too small; labor costs too much, and they give themselves unnecessary competition. Of course, he will not recommend the "unmoral methods of the German syndicates that mainly aim at getting bigger prices from the consumers; nevertheless, this matter is worth the attention of the English."

The Germans, further, proceed in a much more systematic fashion abroad. Their diplomatic representation, their big banks, and the industrial corporations work in unison; while only recently in England the Government began, to a very limited degree, to support the industrial enterprises away from home, while the banks waved aside every effort for working together with industries. At home, in fact, the Government is nothing less than the enemy of the local industry, because, owing to the lower prices, large orders go to Germany, and because, entirely aside from the damage done home production, there is introduced systematically a whole army of spies, ostensibly employed in the delivery and setting up of machinery, &c., but who in reality get opportunities for spying out England's means for defense.

Above all, the author does not tire of

blaming his countrymen for their ultra-conservatism. All innovations for improvement are spurned by them. Every time it is a question of far-reaching enterprises abroad, English capital excuses itself; money only becomes available when the sums asked for are comparatively small, and when the prospects for a big profit are seen in the immediate future.

All of these complaints have been heard again and again during the last ten years. They have become typically English; but typically English also is the complete incapacity to arrive at the correct conclusion regarding the matter. When the English industrial methods have become back numbers; when English capitalists no longer feel like taking chances; when diplomacy, finance, and industrialism fail to co-operate, it follows as a matter of course that England finds itself superseded by Germany abroad. However things stand, Germany is once for all the land of brilliant organization, and our industry and our financial circles, with due regard for being cautious, know how to venture as must be the case when a new rival tries to gain for himself a place in the world market.

Here will be found the reason for Germany's success; a success which, nevertheless, has not been so great that England need fear for its own existence. The average Briton, however, does not understand these very simple reasons, but listens to wild stories about German espionage and German badness, when, as a consequence, every little incident of the past is magnified out of all proportion, and the big planks in their own eyes, as against the splinters in the eyes of their brethren, are entirely forgotten.

The series of articles in *The Engineer* carry a twofold appeal to the English people. The author proposes that immense capital shall be got together for the purpose of completely modernizing English industrialism. But as he fears that the absence of the spirit of venture characteristic of English capital will again dispel the beautiful dreams of the one making the proposal, he concludes

with an idea that should not be overlooked.

"There is a way," he says, "that is very simple. It consists in the well-planned, organized destruction of German industries, big and little, and in this organized disturbance the German iron and steel works must share. The occupation of German territory by the allied troops must be accompanied by the destruction of all important industries in the occupied land. We may believe that when it becomes known here and in France that such a plan for organized destruction is to be put in motion, then capital will flow in the direction of home industrialism. What the Germans have done to the towns and villages in France and Belgium has aroused public feeling and thus blazed the way for making this method a legitimate weapon in the hands of industrial warfare and a powerful instrument for justice and retribution."

It would seem that such an appeal to man's baseness would be enough, but one more word appears to be essential. It is markedly evident of the honorable author's hypocrisy that he adds: "We do not wish to associate ourselves too rigidly with this proposal. Not alone for moral reasons may it be necessary to do this, but in the hope that in time Ger-

many's big economic interests may be affected thereby. It may also be that the destruction of German industrialism will follow of itself as a result of the war alone, and this may prove enough for the English purpose."

Therefore, the iniquity of this proposal does not give the author concern, yet he hopes that it may be possible to reach the goal along some other channel. Should this not be feasible, then—one can read between the lines—the first mentioned method for organized destruction must be employed. Any one who can even propose such a mean thing should be responsible for his action.

We know now to what lengths the English will go in this trade war. We know now that where it is possible for this Englishman to say what so many of his countrymen are thinking, then the English troops will act as incendiaries and destroyers in Germany. Maybe they will still remain gentlemen and we Huns.

We can only be thankful to the author of the articles in *The Engineer* that he has lifted the veil. Fortunately, our arms still have the last word, and the question of destruction touching German industrialism along the Rhine and in Upper Silesia is therefore not a pressing one.

III.

The English As God's Chosen People

By Dr. Otto Kuntzemueller

IN his book, "The Foundation of the Nineteenth Century," published in 1899, Houston Stewart Chamberlain makes reference to the devastation of Israel's kingdom by the Assyrians in the year 720 before Christ, and the carrying into captivity of the inhabitants who "in a short time became intermixed with the natives and as a consequence disappeared entirely."

In a footnote he adds: "They vanished so completely that many theologians even in our century are bothering their

heads with the question what has become of the Israelites, since they cannot believe that the five-sixths part of the people whom Jehovah had promised the whole earth should have disappeared without any ado. A shrewd mind even gathered from this that the ten supposed lost tribes are the English of today! He was, besides, not at a loss to account for this discovery; this is the reason why five-sixths of the earth's surface belongs to the British; the balance to the Jews."

Chamberlain points to two English

works treating of this question—"H. L. Lost Israel, Where Are They to be Found?" and "Our Israelitish Origin," which are responsible for the fact that there are Anglo-Saxons who trace their genealogy back to the time of Moses!

Chamberlain has known how to relegate this theological chimera to the realm of nonsense. And it is also nonsense that in England this should be taken for gospel truth.

To what an extent this has been the case the writer of this experienced during his stay at Cairo toward the close of 1887. Here the well-known Arabian courier, Mohammed Hassan, showed him a letter that he had received from an English manufacturer of armaments, George Nelson Walsh, of Sheffield. Mohammed Hassan had served this Englishman during the latter's stay at Cairo, and, following his departure, had written him a letter which Mr. Walsh answered and which contained, among other things, the following:

"Now I will tell you something that concerns in particular the future of the Arab and the Englishman.

"God—Allah, as you call Him—is so good that when He saw how the world was being ruled by badness He grieved very much. He decided to show humanity the good and right way. For this purpose He chose Abraham, one of the best persons that ever lived, and commanded him to teach men to love God, to neither lie nor cheat nor act dishonorable in any shape or manner. Abraham did his best—but what can a person do in a world full of bad people?

"God now decided that Abraham's descendants should be charged with teaching His will. Among other sons, Abraham had Isaac. And God commanded that Isaac's descendants should be teachers. Isaac had two sons, Esau, from whom all the Arabs have descended, and Jacob. God decreed that Esau and his kin to come should continue to live a free, unrestrained life in the desert and be under no ruler. But Jacob was to be the teacher of righteousness.

"Jacob had twelve sons. All became teachers and all their offspring became

teachers of God's will. These twelve sons, again, had large families, that increased to such an extent that from each family sprang a people, and in this way there came into existence twelve peoples. Ten of these twelve peoples withdrew from the others, and called themselves Israel. The other two combined and called themselves Judah. In this way there came about two peoples, those of the kingdom of Judah and those of the kingdom of Israel.

"These people were destined by God to teach all mankind to love God and to treat their neighbors honorably. But instead of doing the will of God, they became bad and cruel, and while God sent many prophets they did not want to give up their sin.

"Then God became very angry. He drove the people of the Kingdom of Israel into captivity and declared that in the course of time they should forget that they were the children of Israel. He did promise them, however, that He would not entirely withdraw His favor from them. He would send them on wanderings and lead them to an island where they should find their home. After they had reached this place they would become the mightiest people on earth, learn to love God, and teach the same to other nations. And then He would reveal to them, that they were the long lost people of the ten tribes of Israel.

"The other kingdom, composed of the two tribes of Judah, were just as godless as the people of Israel. For that reason God sent the Romans to punish them and destroy Jerusalem, with its magnificent temple. More than a million Jews, which is the name borne by the people of the Kingdom of Judah, were killed. The remaining were sold as slaves throughout Europe. But God promised them that after a while they would once more be restored to Syria and Palestine.

"And now comes the remarkable part of my story. Scholars who have searched the Book of Daniel and other books where all these things are written, have found that the time for the realization of this is nigh. They have discovered that the English, as the great teachers of human-

ity, are the true and rightful descendants of the ten tribes of Israel; that they live on an island; that they are the mightiest nation on earth, as had been prophesied would be the case. It reads further in the book of which I speak, that so soon as those of the Kingdom of Israel assume another name and drop the former—as was prophesied and has happened; namely, the term 'English'—they should reveal themselves to the effect that they are the descendants of Israel and the brothers of Judah, and that they would then take steps to regain Palestine. And as soon as they had obtained it they would have their brothers, the Jews, taken back to Palestine, and then the Jews and the English would become a great nation and would rule the world, and justice and righteousness would be spread unto the ends of the earth.

"The beginning for this wonderful change on earth is already made. England obtained its protectorate over Palestine nine years ago; then that over Egypt. Within a few years, perhaps in two or three years, it will have the ownership of Egypt and Syria. A great war will take place in Europe through which all nations except England will

suffer. The Jews will be driven from all countries and will place themselves under the protection of England. The English will receive them with open arms as their long lost brothers; equip them with everything, and send them to Palestine in large ships for the purpose of having them establish themselves in their own land. And God has said that after they have once returned to their country they will never again be driven out of there.

"In those days—remember the time is near—the English, together with the Jews, will rule the whole world, and honor, peace and contentment will be everywhere present. The Jews will be the first to rejoice through their connection with the English, and the Arabs the next."

The writer has had occasion to discuss with many Germans married into well-known English families, as well as with English acquaintances, this remarkable letter of Mr. Walsh, and he has had confirmed that there is a general belief that the English are the descendants of the lost people of Israel and that they are God's people, chosen to rule the world.

Alarum

By JOHN B. KENNEDY.

Out of the East the trumpet comes,
And the roll of drums—the dreadful
drums;
Cries of glory and heroes' crowns;
Choking smoke of the tortured towns;
Wails of women, and children's screams;
Tales of terror unknown to dreams;
The halitus of the corpse-clad waste;
A death-dish cooked to the devil's taste.
Above the havoc of matter and mind,
As the fathers curse and the moth-
ers weep,
The soul of the dead men charge the
wind,
Whisper: "We see, but ye are blind;
We are awake, and still ye sleep!"

The eagle mimics a dream-drunk dove
And coos of love—illusive love;
Ink-thumbed soldiers and paper guns;
Barnyard battles and ceaseless suns;
Naughty navies to rule—the ink
(Yet the coast-lines will never shrink;)
Saucy armies to welcome war
(Still we wonder what strength is for;)
Purse-proud power to play Mars' tricks
(Was there ever a "Seventy-six"?)
Mark the meaning of Europe's fall;
Asia still has a truth to tell!
Cease for a moment the caterwaul,
Heed for a moment the future's call—
Cain still grins in the core of hell!

Tsing-tao Under the Japanese

A German View of the New Regime

In the subjoined article a correspondent of the Hamburger Nachrichten sends his impressions of the former German colony in China since Japan took possession.

THE situation in Tsing-tao since it fell into the hands of the Japanese is not any too promising.

Even seen from the outside the defects are very pronounced. As for the streets, that used to be so well kept, there are deep cavities in many places, caused by the bombardment. In addition, the heavy rains during the Summer of 1914 brought more damage to the thoroughfares, which was not attended to. What the Japanese have done to make good in that respect amounts to almost nothing.

This can be said for everything else they have undertaken to restore in the colony to what it was before the siege. It may be a fact that the plans of the Japanese are on a big enough scale, but they lack the means with which to accomplish anything worth while. There is not wanting the desire to have the place put in order. But at times they have not had enough money with which to pay the wages of the men. It is taken for granted that in such circumstances there can be no progress. And standing still means nothing less than going back.

It really amounts to this—that the military in charge of affairs at Tsing-tao have their hands tied. It is a fact that some of the officials are quite anxious to go ahead and have made valuable propositions for the improvement of the place, but the instant Tokio is informed about what is wanted, the reply is in the negative. Every such proposition is looked upon in the capital as a friendly act toward the Germans. The leading men in Tokio are so thoroughly guided by what England wants that there is an effort to annoy and embarrass the remaining Germans in Tsing-tao just as it has been done in Hongkong.

On the other hand, it is known that a portion of the influential Japanese in Tokio do not look with favor on pro-

ceeding too antagonistically against the German interests. They are afraid that before they know it Japanese influence will wane and that Tsing-tao may become some kind of English sub-station in that part of China and thus endanger Japan's prestige in the whole of Shantung Province. Not alone that the Japanese may have some secret desire to show the civilized Western nations that she can be magnanimous in her victory, but that there are real economic reasons for her attitude of going slow against the Germans. Somehow there is a feeling that England has some design not yet expressed; apprehension is there, and the shrewd Oriental wants to be on his guard.

The military supervision of Tsing-tao and the ruling officials in Tokio confront each other like opposite poles. The remaining Germans in Tsing-tao are made to suffer through this pulling apart. About 200 Germans are still in the place, mainly women and children, and the main reason for their stay is that they are holding on to their properties. The leading merchants, as well as most of the less important traders have gradually disappeared, either of their own free will, or as a result of mistreatment at the hands of the Japanese, some even being taken to Japan in view of their military fitness. It is natural, therefore, that almost all commerce has come to a stop. The Chinese have also left the place, while threatening that they will remain away. Japan's attitude toward China since last January has not helped in the situation, and the feeling of distrust has spread throughout the province. The railroad that runs through Shantung is for that identical reason becoming of less and less importance. Whatever business goes over the line at the present time is only a trifle as compared with the former traffic.

The many Japanese that came streaming into Tsing-tao after its fall and expected to find a rich harvest ready for them have been sadly disappointed. Many of them are in great distress. A considerable number of criminals have also sought the place, and public security has been threatened by their presence. The reputation of the place has suffered so severely that there is fear that Tsing-tao will lose its importance as a seaside resort.

In Japanese capitalistic circles the opinion seems to have been fixed from the start that Tsing-tao would prove a costly prize and an experiment, and that it would not for long remain a possession of Japan. The solution of the problem cannot come until after peace is declared, and China and Japan settle the question. But whatever may happen, the Japanese have made a good beginning just the same. They showed considerable acumen in selecting the future residential quarters between the Chinese town of Tapau-tau and the former German section near the harbor, where trade was getting to be quite

flourishing. The Japanese quarter has the advantage of easy access to all the most important trading points; the Chinese stores in Tapau-tau, the European houses in the business centre, the large and small harbor as well as the belt railroad.

It is still a question whether Tsing-tao has much of a future before it. There are signs in plenty that trade is going to Tien-tsin, and also to Tschifu. In the latter port they are working with feverish haste to complete the connecting railroad lines. Here the English are laboring incessantly, and it may be noted that they do not at all mind that their own plans run counter to those of the Japanese. In case the activity at Tschifu continues and Tsing-tao remains as it is for any length of time, the prospects for a restoration of the latter to its former greatness are but slight. Whoever will be the future master of the place will have to make enormous sacrifices in order to give it back its recent importance. Although its loss may be a big blow to the German interests, there is the gratification that nobody else will derive any profit from the place.

To War Bards

By ELIAS LIEBERMAN.

Please note, my friend
Of lyric trend,
That cannon "boom"
To "gloom" or "doom";
But when they "roar"
They roar of "war";
That balls will "burst"
To rhymes like "curst";
That men will "fall"
When countries "call";
That flowing "blood"
Suggests a "flood";
That "hopes of peace"
Will go with "cease."

But try to sell
The stuff, and—Well,
You'll know instead
What Sherman said.

Dual Nationality in Time of War

By Richard W. Flournoy, Jr.

Mr. Richard W. Flournoy is the Chief of the Bureau of Citizenship in the Department of State at Washington, but this expression of his views on the interesting subject of dual nationality, printed in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Sept. 12, is not an official declaration. Mr. Flournoy is giving his opinion in his personal, not his official, capacity.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT has contributed to the June number of The Metropolitan Magazine an article entitled "When Is an American Not an American?" in which, with characteristic ardor, he has undertaken to censure the Department of State because of statements in its letter of April 2, 1915, to P. A. Lelong, Jr., of New Orleans, concerning his citizenship and liability in France for performance of military service. He goes so far as to characterize the department's letter as "dangerously close to treason to the United States."

This is surely a serious charge to make against the Department of State in any case, and especially so in such serious times as these. The fact that this criticism was made by one who has held the highest office in the Republic and published broadcast throughout the country surely warrants a careful consideration of the question.

Mr. Lelong, in a letter of March 27, informed the department that he was born in the United States on June 18, 1880, of a native French father, who had emigrated to this country when he was about 20 years of age, and he inquired whether, in case he should visit France, he could be held liable for military service in that country. The Department of State, without entering into a discussion of the moral rights of Mr. Lelong, replied briefly concerning his apparent legal status as follows:

Under the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, all persons born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States. Section 1, Article VII. of the French Civil Code states that the following are Frenchmen: "Every person born of a Frenchman in France or abroad."

It thus appears that you were born with

a dual nationality and the department cannot therefore give you any assurance that you would not be held liable for the performance of military service in France should you voluntarily place yourself within French jurisdiction.

It will be noted that the department did not discuss the question of the right of the French Government to summon Mr. Lelong from this country to France to serve in the army, but merely stated the position in which he would find himself in case he should voluntarily enter France. Moreover, the department did not say that no action would be taken by this Government to obtain Mr. Lelong's release in case he should be actually held in France for military service, under the conditions stated. It merely informed him that, as he was born with a dual nationality, (French under French law as well as American under American law,) the department was unable to assure him that he would not be held liable in France for military service under the law of that country.

It appears that the use of the term "dual nationality" found peculiar disfavor in the eyes of Colonel Roosevelt. This simple legal term, which has been innocently used by writers on international law from time immemorial to describe the actual status of persons born in certain countries of parents who were citizens of other countries, Colonel Roosevelt has not only relegated to a position of contempt, but he has found the words so ugly that he is determined to abolish the term altogether. He says:

I hold that it is the clear duty of the National Administration, speaking for the American people, immediately to repudiate the doctrine thus laid down by the Department of State that there are in our country citizens—and as a matter of fact this ruling would apply to millions of citizens—who are "born with a dual nationality."

It seems incredible that the Department of State can promulgate the doctrine of dual nationality promulgated in its letter above quoted.

The United States cannot with self-respect permit its organic and fundamental law to be overridden by the laws of a foreign country. It cannot acknowledge any such theory as this of "a dual nationality"—which, incidentally, is a self-evident absurdity.

Colonel Roosevelt seems to be laboring under the impression that the term "dual nationality" has recently been coined by the Department of State, and he appears to be unaware of the fact that the term is not only recognized and used by all of the leading writers on private and public international law, American as well as European, but has been recognized and used by the Department of State for many years, and notably during his own Administration.

The peculiar condition of dual nationality is the unavoidable result of the existence of two distinct principles upon which the nationality laws of different countries are based. According to one principle a person is born a citizen of a country because of the fact that his father is a citizen thereof. This is known as *jus sanguinis*, and was embodied in the Roman law.

According to the other principle a person is born a citizen of a country because of the mere fact of birth within its territory and jurisdiction, without regard to the nationality of his parents. This was the feudal principle and is known as *jus soli*.

It is difficult to say which principle is the more reasonable or which has prevailed to the greatest extent. The great jurist, Vattel, held the *jus sanguinis* to be the natural and right principle, but this is a matter of opinion. The *jus soli* prevailed in Europe long after the feudal system had ceased to a great extent to exist.

The *jus sanguinis* was adopted in France in 1807, through the Code Napoleon, and later adopted in the other countries of Continental Europe. The *jus soli* remains to this day the basic principle of the British law of nationality, although the other principle was partially engrafted upon the British law as long ago as the year 1350.

The original British law of nationality (*jus soli*) was inherited by this country, but it was not until the passage of the Act of Congress of April 9, 1866, that the matter was fixed by statute as follows:

All persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are declared to be citizens of the United States.

Later the following statement was included in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.

Meantime, on April 14, 1802, and Feb. 10, 1855, Congress had passed acts embodying the principle of the *jus sanguinis*.

The eminent Judge who delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the well-known case of the United States vs. Wong Kim Ark, the leading case on native American citizenship, said that "it is the inherent right of every independent nation to determine for itself, and according to its own Constitution and laws, what classes of persons shall be entitled to its citizenship," (169 U. S., 649, 668.) This is simple enough, but how to accommodate the conflicting claims of different countries to the allegiance of the same persons is a matter which has never been satisfactorily settled, and can only be settled through international conventions.

John Bassett Moore, whose pre-eminent standing among the authorities on international law needs no comment, makes the following statement in his monumental "International Law Digest" (Vol. III., Page 518):

The doctrine of double allegiance, though often criticised as unphilosophical, is not an invention of jurists, but is the logical result of the concurrent operation of two different laws. In the absence of a general agreement for the exclusive application according to circumstances, of the one or the other of such laws, the condition that actually exists is described by the term double allegiance. An undisputed example of it is furnished by the case of a

child, who, by reason of his parents being at the time of his birth in a foreign land, is born a citizen of two countries—a citizen of the country of his birth *jure soli*, and a citizen of his parents' country *jure sanguinis*.

A conflict, however, is obviated by the rule—which is indeed but the practical formulation of the doctrine itself—that the liability of the child to the performance of the duties of allegiance is determined by the laws of that one of the two countries in which he actually is.

Oppenheim, in his recent work entitled "International Law," makes the following observations in his chapter headed, "Double and Absent Nationality," (Vol. I., Pp. 363 and 364):

An individual may own double nationality knowingly and unknowingly, and with or without intention. And double nationality may be produced by every mode of acquiring nationality. Even birth can vest a child with double nationality. Thus, every child born in Great Britain of German parents acquires at the same time British and German nationality, for such child is British according to British, and German according to German municipal law.

Individuals owning double nationality bear in the language of diplomatists the name *sujets mixtes*. The position of such "mixed subjects" is awkward on account of the fact that two different States claim them as subjects, and therefore their allegiance. In case a serious dispute arises between these two States which leads to war, an irreconcilable conflict of duties is created for these unfortunate individuals.

Oppenheim closes this chapter by observing that difficulties arising from "double nationality" can be done away with only through the adoption of a proper international convention.

To come to Colonel Roosevelt's own Administration, it may be observed that those who served under him as Secretaries of State innocently used on various occasions the expression which is now the subject of his most severe criticism. For example, Secretary Hay, in an instruction of Feb. 23, 1904, to the Minister at Montevideo, said, the reference being to a work by Van Dyne:

The question of granting passports to persons having a dual allegiance is treated in Chapter XI., Page 42 et seq. of the same work. (Foreign Relations of the United States, 1904, Page 854.)

Acting Secretary Bacon, (later Secre-

tary of State under President Roosevelt,) in a note of Nov. 20, 1906, to the German Ambassador, inclosed a memorandum prepared in the State Department, of which the first paragraph reads as follows:

Assuming that Alexander Bohn never became a citizen of the United States, Jacob Bohn was born of German parents in the United States. According to the Constitution and laws of the United States as interpreted by the courts, a child born of alien parents in the United States is an American citizen, although such child may also be a citizen of the country of his parents according to the law of that country. (Foreign Relations, 1906, Page 657.)

On July 3, 1906, Acting Secretary of State Bacon, upon the recommendation of Congress, appointed a board composed of James B. Scott, Solicitor of the Department of State; David Jayne Hill, Minister to the Netherlands, and Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Passport Bureau, to inquire into the laws and practice regarding citizenship of the United States, expatriation, and protection abroad, and to report recommendations for legislation to be laid before Congress. The report, which covers 538 pages, and is a most valuable work, was sent to the Speaker of the House with a letter from Secretary Root of Dec. 18, 1906, in which he said:

I beg to commend it to the consideration of the House as a very clear and thorough exposition of this most important subject, upon which it seems to be generally agreed legislation is much needed.

The report of the board, excellent and carefully prepared as it was, did not cover in its recommendations every phase of the intricate subject of citizenship, and did not prescribe a plan for settling questions of double nationality, beyond recommending a statute requiring persons born abroad of American citizens, who should elect American citizenship rather than that of the country of their birth, to make a formal declaration to that effect before an American Consul upon reaching the age of 18 years, and to take the oath of allegiance to the United States upon reaching majority.

The report, approved by Secretary Root and presumably by President Roose-

velt, did, however, contain the following statement:

Inasmuch as our Government declares that all persons born in the United States are citizens of the United States, and also recognizes, as well as adopts on its own part, the rule that children of citizens resident abroad are citizens of the country to which the parents owe allegiance, there arises, as will be seen, a conflict of citizenship, spoken of usually as dual allegiance. (House Document 326, Fifty-ninth Congress, Second Session, Page 74.)

It might be considered strange that Colonel Roosevelt, while President, allowed his Secretaries of State to use so freely the now objectionable term "dual allegiance," and, stranger still, that he failed to avail himself of his unusual opportunity to abolish not only the term but the "self-evident absurdity" which it describes—that is, the condition itself.

Colonel Roosevelt is surely not ignorant of the fact that the law of the United States contains a provision very like the provision of French law under which Mr. Lelong was born a French citizen. He must realize that a person born in France of American parents is born an American citizen, although under certain conditions he may be claimed under French law as a French citizen. In his wide and varied reading his eyes surely must have fallen upon the provision of the Act of Congress of 1855, which, as embodied in Section 1993 of the Revised Statutes, reads as follows:

All children heretofore born or hereafter born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, whose fathers were or may be at the time of their birth citizens thereof, are declared to be citizens of the United States; but the rights of citizenship shall not descend to children whose fathers never resided in the United States.

Under this statute the Department of State almost daily issues passports to persons born in France. If Colonel Roosevelt, just prior to the birth of his youngest son, had gone to England with his family, and his son had been born there, that son might have been considered an American citizen under American law, as well as a British subject under British law, whether or not the British Government would afterward have actually claimed his allegiance.

Senator Lodge in his letters to the

Department of State of June 5 and June 16, 1915, concerning the detention in Italy for military service of Ugo da Prato, used practically the same arguments as Colonel Roosevelt used. Ugo da Prato was born in Boston, Aug. 25, 1895, of Italian parents, and went to Italy in 1912, that is, when he was 17 years old, to study architecture.

The department asked Senator Lodge to send proof that young da Prato's father had been naturalized as a citizen of this country before the birth of the son, in order to show that the latter was not born with a dual nationality and could not be claimed as an Italian subject under the law of Italy. Senator Lodge sent the proof, but argued that it was superfluous, denying the possibility of dual allegiance and contending that da Prato could not have been claimed as an Italian subject even if his father had not been naturalized in this country before his (the son's) birth.

The department replied at some length in a letter of June 9, which was later given to the press, and Senator Lodge again presented his views in a letter of June 16, which has also been given to the press. In this letter the Senator, referring to the conflicting nationality laws of Italy and the United States, said:

But the fact that there is a conflict of laws is very different from admitting that the law in conflict with our own is valid.

The solution of the conflict of laws proposed by Senator Lodge has the merit of simplicity, it must be admitted, but, from an examination of the works of Story, Dicey, and other writers on the intricate subject of conflict of laws, it does not appear that they have found this solution entirely satisfactory. It is indeed a simple matter, when a law of a foreign country conflicts with a law of the United States, for this Government to decline to admit the validity of foreign law. But suppose that the foreign country insists that its own law is valid, and suppose that the person who is the subject of the controversy is at the time actually within the territory and jurisdiction of the foreign country—what then?

The conflict still exists, and something more than a mere flat denial of the validity of the foreign law is necessary. The contention of this Government, to be of any avail in a given case, must be based upon the ground of natural right and justice, or what appears to be such, and certain peculiar facts and circumstances in view of which American law should prevail, particularly the fact that the person concerned is domiciled in this country and, having reached his majority, has made a practical election of American nationality.

Various solutions of the problem of double nationality have been suggested, and some of them are embodied in the laws of various countries. Some day, it is to be hoped, the matter will be settled through general international conventions. A simple and, apparently, satisfactory rule would be that a person born with a dual nationality shall, after reaching majority, bear the nationality only of the country in which he is domiciled at the time of reaching majority, or, if domiciled in a third country at such time, he shall bear the nationality of that one of the two countries claiming him in which he last had his domicile. Such a rule would obviate the necessity of a formal declaration.

It is unfortunate that Colonel Roosevelt undertook to discuss in his article on dual nationality the provision of the German law of nationality of Jan. 1, 1914, under which Germans who acquire naturalization in foreign countries may, under certain conditions, retain their German allegiance. The impression has been given, whether intended or not, that this Government concedes that Germans and other aliens who are naturalized in the United States may retain their original allegiance and thus have a "dual nationality."

This is quite untrue. The Government of the United States has made no such concession. In its letter of June

9 to Senator Lodge the Department of State said:

The cases of persons born in the United States of alien parents should not be confused with the cases of persons born abroad who have obtained naturalization as citizens of this country. In the former cases the department is obliged to recognize now, as always heretofore, that the persons concerned are born with a dual nationality. In the latter cases the department does not recognize the existence of dual nationality in view of the fact that persons who obtain naturalization as citizens of this country are required to renounce their original allegiance.

Senator Lodge's attention was also called to printed circulars of the Department of State, issued during and since the administration of President Roosevelt, in which naturalized American citizens are informed as to their status in their countries of origin. Particular mention was made of the circular entitled "Notice to American Citizens Formerly Subjects of Italy Who Contemplate Returning to That Country," and especially to the following statement contained in it:

Naturalization of an Italian subject in a foreign country without the consent of the Italian Government is no bar to liability to military service.

The final paragraph of Secretary Lansing's letter of June 9 to Senator Lodge contained the following general statement:

In closing allow me to say that this Government has not receded from the position taken many years ago as to the natural right of men to make a voluntary change of nationality, commonly known as the right of expatriation. Nevertheless, the Department of State deems it proper to continue the practice which it has followed for many years of informing naturalized American citizens of the position in which they will find themselves in case they voluntarily visit their native countries. For the same reason the department deems it proper to warn persons having a dual nationality of the claims which may be made upon them by the other countries concerned. It is believed that the department would not be performing its full duty in this matter if it should fail to give this information.

Unity Beneath the Present Discord

By Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy

Formerly Professor of the Philosophy of Law in the University of Moscow

This article by Prince Troubetzkoy is taken from an article appearing originally in the Hibbert Journal.

AN attempt to penetrate the inner meaning of events which have not yet completed their course may seem premature and audacious. Are we equipped with the force of mind which alone can raise us above the mighty torrent which is sweeping us along? Are we sufficiently calm to be able to interpret its direction and its meaning?

In spite of the seeming justice of these objections, there are reasons which compel us to press the question now. The exceptional circumstances of the present crisis have produced throughout the whole world an exaltation of mind which cannot last for long. When we return hereafter to our ordinary life we shall not be what we are at the present moment. Once the war is finished, that elevation of soul, that unusual keenness of perception, that exceptional clearness of insight which belong to the great moments of history, and are now present, will exist no more.

Among the characteristic features of our present state of mind there is one especially which admits of no mistake. The great European war has brought a wonderful increase to the intensity of life both in the individual and in humanity at large. The chief result of the war has been to double the energy and active force of the general life.

In times of war the whole world displays extraordinary activity. This holds of individuals, of social groups, and of whole peoples. The question, "To be or not to be," presents itself with the same penetrating force to all alike, and life becomes more intense just in proportion as it has to provide for its own preservation and to meet the challenge of the powers of death.

This is not the day of bourgeois vices

and respectable virtues. It is the day when all the contradictions of human life leap into the light and clash together in their most irreconcilable forms, the day when all oppositions are pushed to the very extreme. There is war to the knife between heaven and hell; war without truce and without rest. The object of the strife is the possession of the human soul; and for that reason the two principles appear in man in all their majesty and power. It seems as though the god and the beast attain these immense proportions in man at one and the same moment; so that we see on one side the appearance of a monstrous criminality—of men who might be reincarnations of Caesar Borgia and his contemporaries; while on the other side we see a train of martyrs and saints who also seem to return to us from another time, remote in the distance of the past.

This abnormal force of hatred, now let loose, provokes and quickens into activity an equally abnormal force of love; so that, for the time being, the most astonishing heroism is looked upon as an almost everyday occurrence, and the supreme act of self-surrender becomes an ordinary event. Most remarkable of all is the fact that this sublime heroism has ceased to be the exceptional quality of a few individuals—the heroic spirit possesses whole masses of men; it is shown even in those who, up to the present moment, seemed "insignificant"—mere expressionless and negative personalities.

At such a time the human heart expands; one might say it is transformed by a profound revolution. A new type of humanity comes into being, more powerful and more wonderful to behold. Man augments his stature; and therewith the feeling of his own value gathers

force within him. When the human heart permits a glimpse to be taken of all its inner wealth, which has hitherto been hidden and unguessed, then it is that man begins to inspire his neighbor with a deeper reverence and with feelings which issue in a more vigorous moral activity. Love is reacting against the hatred which is invading the world; and for that reason it burns in all its forms with a splendor and force such as we see at no other time. This ardent flame of love we may now behold in a vast variety of situations.

In all such scenes the most moving figure is that of the woman, standing beside the husband, son, or brother, who is going off to the war. As the train or the steamer moves away, one may hear the soldiers saying to one another, "Why do the women weep while our eyes are dry? Not because our sorrow is less than theirs, but because our hearts are made of sterner stuff."

This exalted passion of love and of pity may sometimes be seen forcing the heart to rebellion against the pitiless powers which impose the peril of death upon its dearest objects. At the beginning of the war the Russian papers published a letter which had been intercepted by our troops, written by a young German girl to her lover in the army: "What does this cruel Kaiser want with our poor bit of happiness, which is so dear to us?" Every loving heart, especially if it is a woman's, has the same feeling in similar circumstances. And yet in this woman's love there is an aspiration of a higher order, which imposes silence on the spirit of rebellion. The letter which I have just quoted contains also this phrase: "Return covered with glory; be my victorious Siegfried."

Here we see another feeling familiar to every human being—the anguish of love, well known among men of every race.

In all true and sincere love there is this inevitable conflict of two powerful aspirations—first, the desire for the preservation of the being beloved, the desire to snatch him from death at all costs; and then, along with this, the dream of seeing his brow encircled by a

crown which cannot be won save by an act of heroism, often at the cost of his life. My hero—this lover, this husband, this son—as he departs for the war, is for me a unique being in the universe, the one object worthy of all possible sacrifices. What in all the world could ever compensate me for his loss? How impossible, then, must it ever remain to adjust our minds to the idea that in war tens of thousands of these infinitely precious existences are sacrificed in order to get possession of a single trench!

And yet this same pathos of love bears witness that life has another content beyond its personal interests, a higher meaning which alone has power to give a purpose to human existence and clothe it with absolute value. Love is not satisfied by merely perceiving the presence of the being beloved; it must also reverence him; its object must justify its devotion. And love is deeply conscious that the individual human being who inspires it is nothing if abstracted from the great human whole to which he belongs. Individual existence becomes empty and meaningless just so far as it ceases to serve that larger whole. And that is why love is always ready for the supreme sacrifice. For those who desire before all else to be proud of the beings they love, the death of these is always preferable to their dishonor.

Hence arises the living bond which unites these two feelings—the love of the individual and the love of country. And most of all in times of war, when the vital force of the will redoubles its energy, these two feelings nourish and kindle each other by their mutual contact.

The feeling of the individual for his country must be extraordinarily powerful when it leads him to sacrifice not only his "self" but that which is far dearer to him—to wit, everything that he loves. And yet, in the historic crisis through which we are now living, this sacrifice becomes habitual; we see it ten thousand times repeated every day. And the greater the sacrifice, the more does this bond with the nation as a whole, for which the sacrifice is made, deepen and assert itself within the human heart.

To nations as to individuals, the same question is presented: "To be or not to be." And, when presented, it yields an identical result in both cases—the more precious the value that is threatened, the more lively and passionate are the feelings it inspires.

What we here behold is a manifestation of that vital force which reacts on the instant when the need arises to do battle against the powers of death and destruction. Its action, which always has the same effect—that of affirming or reaffirming the integrity of nations—reached the height of the miraculous at the beginning of the present war. At that moment a mighty revolution was effected in the minds of men. Suddenly the strife of parties was seen to stop; no more disintegration, no more discord; in every country the union of the nation was re-established and affirmed. These were the typical facts equally conspicuous in each of the opposing camps. Lost in time of peace, the guiding motive of life asserts itself unmistakably in time of war; each nation comes to itself and gathers its forces to a unity under a single idea and a single act of will.

This phenomenon appeared in all the countries involved; and if I confine myself here to its Russian aspect, it will be through no partiality for my own country, but merely because I have made no personal observation of other lands. With us it was the first appearance of the wounded which produced the greatest of the miracles of which I am speaking.

Never shall I forget the moving sight of which I was a spectator in our province last August. Kalouga, a town of 60,000 inhabitants, was preparing to receive from 150 to 300 wounded. But the great battles in Austria and Poland having begun much sooner than was expected, these calculations, like so many others, turned out wide of the mark. One day, without any word of warning sent in advance, 2,700 wounded reached Kalouga in a single convoy. For some hours the confusion was great. There was neither straw nor linen; proper food was absolutely wanting; there were no coverings for the planks on which the wounded men were stretched. But at the end of two

days they were all comfortably lodged, well fed, and supplied with the best of medical treatment. Accommodation was freely given; unknown people supplied the straw; others, also unknown, brought mattresses, bed linen, and pillows; unknown peasants from the villages around brought in all kinds of eatables in sufficient quantity. Ladies of position and their daughters became nurses. Everything was done with a spontaneous élan, and without any organization. It was just the instinctive and irresistible movement of a mass of human beings. And throughout the whole of our country the same movement was manifest, taking the same form, producing the same miracle, whenever the need arose. It is only at moments like these that the inner unity of Russia becomes visible and tangible. In Russia, as elsewhere, life has only to resume its daily form and immediately the unity of the national self is lost and dispersed in a confused chaos of contradictory phenomena.

This renaissance of human solidarity is one of the most paradoxical and yet typical features of the war. Nor is it merely among living contemporaries that these bonds of union come into being. In these grand moments of history we see the centuries draw near to one another, the past joins hands with the present. And then it is that this past grows very dear to our hearts, because, when war threatens, the past represents an ancient glory for which we are fighting, a heritage of our fathers of which some one would rob us, the tradition of a culture which we are defending against the enemy. It is precisely by this link with the past that we become a nation. To be conscious of it is to feel that our fathers are with us; for our country is precisely "the land of our fathers."

In this rebirth of nations their historical continuity comes forth into the light; the link between the generations, broken or forgotten in times of peace, reconstitutes itself and rises into consciousness. Through this very exaltation of national sentiment the living generation is conscious of itself as forming one historic whole with the generations which have passed away. Now, more than ever



LORD READING

Chairman of the Anglo-French Financial Commission, Who Negotiated in
the United States a Credit of \$500,000,000



MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, U. S. A.
Commanding the Department of the East
(© Photo by Harris & Ewing.)

before, the unity of our history comes into view. We are conscious of it even at those very points where until now it seemed most obscure, where the breach between past and present seemed final, when a great gulf divided the fathers from the sons.

This change is seen, for example, in the new feeling evoked in us by the ancient monuments of our national culture. We have always admired them—these beautiful cathedrals—as worthy representatives of our past; but till now our admiration was æsthetic merely, and cold. Despite our appreciation of them the ancient temples of our fathers seemed foreign and not wholly comprehensible; they spoke to us of a culture no longer ours, of thoughts we do not share, of emotions which stir us no more. But now, does it not seem as though the old walls, dumb so long, were addressing us with their ancient eloquence; as though that which has been dead for centuries were coming to life again? How the distance has shrunken which separates contemporary France from the cathedral of Rheims or of Notre Dame! Is not Westminster Abbey dearer than ever to the hearts of Englishmen? And that is so not merely because these precious monuments are threatened by great guns and Zeppelins, or shattered by shell fire. Beyond all this, an inward change has taken place in the relations which connect the living generation with the past embodied in these buildings.

Historic days such as these, when all recognized values are undergoing a complete revision, lead with the certainty of fate to a thoroughgoing depreciation of that practical materialism which, as I have said, seemed on the eve of the war to be dominating civilization. But now, when men, by a voluntary sacrifice, are going forth in masses to die for their country, we are beginning to feel ashamed of our excessive preoccupation with comfort and enjoyment. Hence it is that gifts for the wounded and for the victims of the war pour forth in a flood. Men who renounce everything that they may give their goods to the poor have ceased to be rare exceptions, and among those who have no goods to give away there

are multitudes who willingly sacrifice their labor for the common cause.

Confronted with death, which is raking in its victims by tens of thousands, the value we set on wealth is totally changed. To those who risk their lives wealth is worthless, and those who lose their nearest and dearest, or know they may lose them at any moment, ask themselves again and again—To what purpose, and for whom, do we guard our riches and labor to increase them?

When great world movements impose these thoughts on man, the quest for the means of existence ceases to be his sole preoccupation and no longer leads him to forget the goal. When once the life of the spirit has begun to stir, wealth returns to its secondary rôle as an instrument destined to serve the high and holy end of our existence. It is little surprising that the modern man begins, under these conditions, to draw near in spirit to the ancient shrines, in which even luxury ennobled itself by becoming the transparent expression of spiritual experience. Thus approaching one another the generations join hands across the centuries, forming one nation continuous in time.

The truth is that we are coming into relation with a new world, which has been unknown to us hitherto. Spiritual powers, invisible until now, have appeared in our midst. I say "invisible," only because their action is hidden from man so long as he is immersed in the cares of material well-being. And now at the very moment when the world is deluged with blood, and a hurricane of fire, which destroys everything in its passage, is threatening to turn our well-being into dust and ashes—behold, the blind see and the deaf begin to hear! Dimly we foresee the coming victory of mind over chaos. One might almost say that a flash of lightning, leaping from the universal tempest, has suddenly revealed to us a new aspect of the world. It behooves us to be quick in fixing upon our memory the momentary vision; for soon it will fade and vanish completely in the common light of day. But when it has gone we must cherish the recollection of it, for we shall find it indispensable as a source

of encouragement in the tremendous work of organization and creation which must begin when the war is over.

When, after this time of tempest, we enter once more on the long-drawn-out succession of common and monotonous days, we shall again feel ourselves oppressed by the pettiness of an existence so seemingly flat and meaningless. But let no man fold his arms and abandon himself to despair! Let him rather recall this fair vision of the future humanity, of which he has already had a glimpse; let him reflect on the heroism,

hidden deep in man, which, in great moments, triumphs over the seeming insignificance of his nature. To the spectacle of division and discord, as it will then return, let him oppose this memory of the nation which found its unity in the act of raising itself above the earthly interests of common days. And when the rivalry and jealousy of the nations bring new clouds on the horizon, let him remember how, one day, the rolling thunder of a universal tempest announced to him the unity and solidarity of all mankind.

Kalouga, Russia.

The Great Blue Tent

By EDITH WHARTON.

Edith Wharton has written the following poem for THE NEW YORK TIMES, cabled from Paris on Aug. 24, 1915:

Come unto me, said the Flag,
Ye weary and sore oppress;
For I am no shot-riddled rag,
But a great blue tent of rest.

Ye heavy laden, come
On the aching feet of dread,
From ravaged town, from murdered
home,
From your tortured and your dead.

All they that beat at my crimson bars
Shall enter without demur.
Though the round earth rock with the
wind of wars,
Not one of my folds shall stir.

See, here is warmth and sleep,
And a table largely spread.
I give garments to them that weep,
And for gravestones I give bread.

But what, through my inmost fold,
Is this cry on the winds of war?
Are you grown so old, are you grown so
cold,
O Flag that was once our star?

Where did you learn that bread is life,
And where that fire is warm—
You, that took the van of a worldwide
strife,
As an eagle takes the storm?

Where did you learn that men are bred
Where hucksters bargain and gorge;
And where that down makes a softer bed
Than the snows of Valley Forge?

Come up, come up to the stormy sky,
Where our fierce folds rattle and hum,
For Lexington taught us how to fly,
And we dance to Concord's drum.

O flags of freedom, said the Flag,
Brothers of wind and sky;
I too was once a tattered rag,
And I wake and shake at your cry.

I tug and tug at the anchoring place,
Where my drowsy folds are caught;
I strain to be off on the old fierce chase
Of the foe we have always fought.

O People I made, said the Flag,
And welded from sea to sea,
I am still the shot-riddled rag,
That shrieks to be free, to be free.

Oh, cut my silken ties
From the roof of the palace of peace;
Give back my stars to the skies,
My stripes to the storm-striped seas!

Or else, if you bid me yield,
Then down with my crimson bars,
And o'er all my azure field
Sow poppies instead of stars.

Russia's Gift to the World of Literature

By J. W. Mackail

Professor of Poetry in Oxford.

The following article by Professor Mackail, which is here printed with his permission, appeared in a pamphlet entitled "Russia's Gift to the World," and issued by Hodder & Stoughton.

RUSSIA is, for the mass of people in England, an unknown country. It is separated in many ways —by distance, by language, by social organization and habits. It is at the other end of Europe, so that the journey from one country to the other is long, expensive, and rather laborious. Not only the language but even the alphabet is different from ours, and the ways of common life are in many respects strange and take some pains to understand. To these difficulties in the way of intercourse has to be added, not only the national English dislike of foreigners, but the alienation caused by past hostility. The Crimean war, one of the greatest blunders of English statesmanship, drove a wedge between the two nations just when they might have begun to understand one another. Then there followed a long period of jealousies over our Indian frontier and conflicting interests in South-eastern Europe. Twice we were on the brink of war with Russia, once over Constantinople in 1877-8, and again over Afghanistan in 1884-5. Then the Franco-Russian alliance was formed at a time when Great Britain was on uneasy and almost hostile terms with France. It is only in recent years that we have come to regard Russia as a neighbor and tried to understand the Russian Nation and the Russian life.

Instances of the greatness of our ignorance are the common beliefs that the Russians are an Asiatic race, and that they speak a barbarous language. The facts are quite the contrary. The Slavs are, like ourselves, pure Aryans; they are cousins of the Latins and the Celts and the Germans, and have exactly the same claim as these other nations to be

counted European. The countries occupied by them used at one time to extend all over Northern Germany as far west as the Elbe, and even now there are Slav peoples in large numbers in the heart of Central Europe. So, too, about their language. The Russian language, which is spoken (with some varieties of dialect) by more than 100,000,000 people, is one of the richest and noblest of human languages. It provides as valuable a mental discipline as any other modern language, perhaps even as Greek or Latin, and it is a language in which many great works of literature, as we shall see later, have been written.

In any account of Russian literature, two kinds of it have to be considered which are historically separate, though the one to some extent grew out of and is founded upon the other. There is the early popular literature of tales, ballads, and poems which grew up among the people, was handed down by memory, and very often was not committed to writing at all until modern times. There is also the regular literature of books, which begins when language has been studied as an art and reduced to rules. This latter is the form which literature takes in modern times. In both forms the record of Russia is extraordinarily rich.

From very early times Russian as a spoken language produced a copious treasure of tales and ballads, epics and songs. The old Russian fairy tales now recovered and written down are of the highest rank in their wealth of fancy, their freshness, and beauty. The "epic songs" or "heroic songs" going back to the early Middle Ages, from the tenth to the thirteenth century, are no less important. They have been collected and

printed in modern times by Danilev, Rybnikov, Sakharov, and many others. They are not only of immense historical interest, but reveal a power of imagination and expression not excelled by anything produced in Western Europe. To the same period belonged the prose epics, nearly all now lost. One of these, "The Raid of Prince Igor," was rediscovered in 1795; and both in matter and style it is a masterpiece, to be set alongside of the French "Chanson de Roland" or the great Icelandic Sagas. The production of this early popular literature received a severe check from the conquest of Southern Russia by the Mongols (a race akin to the Huns) in the thirteenth century. Ages of devastation followed, during which Russia sank back into something approaching barbarism. But the instinct for the popular epic survived, and put forth fresh and vigorous growths during the period which was in England that of Shakespeare and Milton.

Regular Russian literature, in the modern sense of the term, is hardly more than a century old. It began in the result partly of the introduction of Western education, partly of the rediscovery of their own older literature. Both took effect when the Russian Empire had been consolidated in the eighteenth century. Lomonosov, by his work on the Russian language, paved the way for style and composition. He was a man of immense learning, and the University of Moscow was founded (1755) under his influence. At first the books written were in the French manner, which was then dominant in Europe. The great impulse toward a truly national Russian literature was given by the national war of 1812, and the first really great work which that impulse produced was Karamzin's "History of Russia," published in the year after Waterloo. For its period it was a remarkable achievement merely as history, but its chief importance was in its larger aspect as literature. It established interest among the educated classes in the history of their own country, and it also established Russian prose as a fine art, and became a classic on its literary merit. About the same time there were writing a number of poets

who, though not of the first rank, helped to do for verse what Karamzin had done for prose.

All this work was pioneering in unexplored regions. It may help us to understand Russian literature to think of it as like English literature starting with Scott and Byron if these authors had had no predecessors except the ballads, chronicles, and romances of the Middle Ages, and if in the beginning of the nineteenth century they had had to make their language as well as write in it.

The new movement rapidly bore fruit, and it took shape in the works of Pushkin, the real founder of modern Russian literature. He was both a poet and a prose writer of the romantic school; he corresponds broadly to both Scott and Byron in this country. He was much influenced by Shakespeare, but his genius was quite individual and also quite national. His narrative poem, "Evgeny Onegin," his historical tragedy, "Boris Godunov," and his prose stories of Russian life are all masterpieces. He remains not only a founder but a model. He was more of an artist than a thinker, but his writings have a purity and sincerity of the highest and most lasting value. Like Scott, he was a romantic who did not lose touch with reality, and who gave voice in his writings to the life of his nation. Through him Russian literature was able to claim a place with French and German, English and Italian, among the national literatures of Europe.

That claim was established, that place secured, by the three great imaginative writers of the next generation. Pushkin and his contemporaries, indeed, have only become known largely outside of Russia in the reflected light of those successors, who compelled the attention and won the admiration of the whole world. Turgeneff, Dostoyevsky, and Tolstoy are by common consent among the greatest writers of all ages and countries. It would be needless to labor a point which no one would deny. Taken together, they sum up a production comparable in largeness, force, and vital truth to those of Elizabethan or Victorian England. Of this great trinity but few words need be said.

Turgeneff is above all things a consummate artist. For easy and complete mastery of his art he stands at the head of all European writers of his time. His early training was largely German, and afterward he lived much in France; and so he writes of Russian life from a broad European point of view, and his fame became as great throughout Europe as it was in his own country. Through him Europe came for the first time, with a shock of surprise and admiration, into contact with the Russian soul. Writers so distinguished as George Sand and Flaubert acknowledged him as their master. In "Dmitri Rudin," "Fathers and Sons," and other works hardly less famous, he combined truth to nature with purity of outline and sense of proportion, and with complete harmony between thought and expression. His work is almost unequaled for perfection of style and for restrained power; Taine hardly went beyond what most would admit when he said that there had been nothing like it since Sophocles.

He wrote of a life which was rapidly becoming a life of the past; in his last important work, "Virgin Soil," he is seen trying, in some perplexity, to keep pace with the movements of a new generation. His fame is not so great now as it was thirty years ago, when he had a position, somewhat like Tennyson in England, of unquestioned supremacy. But the strength and charm, the insight and suavity of his art still remain; and his work stands secure, not only by its beauty but by its strength and truth. In his self-imposed exile he remained a patriot. The Russian language was to him a symbol of Russian life. "When I fall into despair," he wrote, "at the sight of all that is being done at home, I cannot but believe that it is to a great people that such a language has been given."

Turgeneff represents the Russia of the older time; Dostoyevsky represents, in strong contrast, the growth, the unrest, and the agonies of the new democracy. His scenes of life are the garret and the street, with their monotony of poverty and suffering. He cannot be read for amusement; his books are disquieting and

distressing, but compelling in their power and truth. The typical Russian qualities of patience and humility became in him a passion, almost a fever. His "Crime and Punishment" had an effect, in Russia and throughout Europe, as great as that of Richardson's "Clarissa" a century before. They are alike in their slow, inevitable movement, their crushing truth, their insight into the dark places of the human soul, and the way in which they work out, relentlessly and in cruel detail, the doctrine of expiation through suffering. Later books, "The Idiot," "Devils," "The Brothers Karamazov," are no less powerful and no less awful. The image of life which he places before us would be horrible but for the sense throughout it all of controlling and overwhelming pity. He searches for the soul of goodness in evil, and so finally leaves a message of dim hope.

Tolstoy was probably the most remarkable single figure in the world of his time. He is the one Russian writer whose name, and some at least of whose works, are known everywhere. Turgeneff is a supreme artist; Dostoyevsky rejects art in his consuming passion for humanity; with Tolstoy, "art happens," he cannot help being a great artist. No modern writer, hardly any one ancient or modern, has approached him in two things. One of these is his power of creating people and situations that are not so much like life as they are life itself. The other is his power of stirring thought and awakening conscience by going straight to the heart of things, and to the human heart itself. In his narrative, one feels not only that things happened so, but that they could not have happened otherwise; it is as though Nature herself took the pen and wrote for him. This is the effect produced by all his work; alike in the vivid descriptive work of his earlier years, like "The Cossacks" and "Sevastopol"; or in his vast historical epic of "War and Peace," which paints or rather sets out in the solid, in flesh and blood, a whole civilization and a whole generation of the world's history; or in "Anna Karenina," where Russian society comes to life on a large canvas; or in his autobiographic

writings, like "Childhood, Boyhood and Youth"; or in those exquisite short stories, like "What Men Live By," "Master and Man," "The Two Pilgrims," "Where Love Is, There God Is Also," where he gives us life in its simplest elements, among poor peasants and artisans, and which are full of infinite fragrance and beauty, of incomparable truth and tenderness and power.

He thought little of his own art, for he was too deeply concerned with life, with religion, and with the salvation of mankind, to care about other things. Fame came to him against his will. In his later years, his house at Yasnaya Polyana became a place of pilgrimage from all Europe, like Ferney in the old age of Voltaire, like Weimar in the old age of Goethe. He was not only an artist but a prophet, and not only an artist and a prophet but a child, with the child's terrible simplicity and insight. In all these qualities he is unique, but yet characteristically Russian.

All the three were alike in their passionate love of Russia, as well as in their power of interpreting Russia to mankind. But their love of Russia worked out differently. The patriotism of Turgeneff reached out toward accepting and assimilating the influences of the West. That of Dostoyevsky rebelled against these influences; it was more self-confined, but more intense. That of Tolstoy was not patriotism at all in the ordinary sense; his love of Russia was an instinct, and he wrote of Russia because he found in it a symbol of the whole of humanity. And so he drew more and more from the life of the Russian peasantry, (who are nine-tenths of the nation,) because in them he found the nearest approach to practical Christianity, to the attitude of little children which is inculcated by the Gospel, and in which he discerned the secret of life.

These three great writers tower up among a mass of others, who, by themselves, would make Russian literature remarkable. Most of them are hardly known in England except among Russian scholars, and it would be idle to give a long list of mere names, but a few of the more outstanding poets and prose authors

may be mentioned. In prose we have to take special note of Gogol, the novelist and playwright, who has been called the Russian Dickens; he was the founder of realism in Russian literature, and his work is full of fun and humor. These qualities are rather rare in Russian art, which is habitually serious—sometimes almost oppressively so to the Western mind. In them he is akin to English writers. The French critic, Prosper Mérimée, put this in a pointed way when he called him "one of the best English humorists." With him may be named Belinsky, the creator of Russian literary criticism, who was powerful in molding the great generation of Russian writers; Vladimir Solovev, the essayist and thinker; and Yakovlev, (better known by his maternal name of Herzen,) a Christian Socialist whose influence was immense in directions that he neither desired nor foresaw, and who is known in literature by his brilliant "Memoirs." Three more have been, in part, translated into English, and are better known: Chekhov, the literary descendant of Turgeneff, who drew Russian middle-class life with great accuracy and also with a sense of humor; Gorky, "the Russian Kipling," who introduced a fresh naturalism into Russian letters, and Merezhkovsky, the author of powerful works of historical fiction.

In poetry likewise may be named Krylov, the fabulist, who, before Pushkin, gave the first impulse to national self-expression; Lermontov, a poet of the school of Byron, but with a lyrical gift akin to that of Shelley; Koltsov, "the Russian Burns"; the delicate and charming lyrics of Alexis Tolstoy, and Nekrássov, the most popular in Russia of all their poets. Nekrássov might be compared to Longfellow in his simplicity and direct appeal to ordinary people; but he is in the strongest contrast to Longfellow's cheerful serenity, for his poetry, in its uncompromising realism, is often bitter, and nearly always full of gloom. Yet this temper issues finally in enthusiasm for the people and faith in their ultimate victory.

At the present time, as is natural and inevitable, Russian literature seems to be

in a time of slack water after the period of the great writers. But it is full of the stirrings of fresh life. As in England, there is large and eager production,

manifold experiment, belief in the power of literature to interpret life; and this gives hope, in both countries, of a new birth and another great age.

“Martyred Birds”

By JEROME K. JEROME.

To the Editor of The London Daily News:

Monks Corners, Marlow Common, Bucks, Aug. 11, 1915.

IT was back in the Winter. There was published in the English papers a letter from a young cavalry officer fighting in Flanders. He spoke, in a casual way, of the discomforts of the cold, of the two feet of icy water in the trenches where he and his handful of men—for it was before the days of rapid relief—lived for weeks at a time, of the annoyance of not being able to put your head for an instant above the parapet without fear of a bullet, of the inconvenience of bursting shrapnel. But these things were more or less what he had expected. What was worrying him most was “a little black dog.” Half a mile behind the trenches lay a shattered farmstead. Some of its inhabitants had been killed, the others had fled. All but this wretched little black dog who went about there day and night with a low, whimpering cry, seeking its people. They had taken it food. The silly fellows had risked their lives crawling through the night. They had tried to bring it back with them to the trench. It would have been safer there and they comforted it; they felt so sorry for it. But it would not go with them. It wanted its own people.

And then he reflects that there must be hundreds of such cases. That this is not the only “little black dog” whimpering among its dead. “Poor little devils,” he concludes, “it’s awfully pitiful!”

One shudders to think of the indignation with which so many of our fierce stay-at-homes must have read this letter. “Sickly sentimentality,” I can hear them spluttering. “Maudlin humanitarism—and in a soldier.” “What is the world coming to?” And yet, strangely enough, kindness has always gone with the true soldier spirit. One remembers the story of the Emperor Maximilian, the fierce, ruthless conqueror. How the birds built their nest within his silken tent. And how, when the order came to move forward, and the orderlies stretched out their hands to shatter the little home, the Emperor forbade them: “Leave it standing”—one can picture the twinkle in the grim, gray eyes. The Emperor will have to sleep in less commodious quarters. The day pavilion. Pity claims it, and the Emperor bows.

From what I know of them I do not believe we could give our boys at the front any greater pleasure than this little gift of Mercy, such as my friend, Francis Cox, proposes to the sweet singers of our lanes and fields. To worry about caged skylarks while a hundred miles from our coast is being waged the fiercest war of history may seem to lack proportion. For our fighting men to worry themselves about sad little dogs while the wings of Death are beating the air above them, and each moment may be their last, is hardly logical. But that is human nature; a thing our denouncers of sentiment know very little about. To even think about birds’ lives when men’s lives every day are being crushed out of them by the thousand may not appear fit and proper to those who have never felt the mysterious current of brotherhood that runs through all things living.

I want to see Prussian militarism crushed and democracy triumphant; and at the same time the thought of brave little thrushes condemned to beat out their gallant hearts, to pour forth their great song of courage for the pleasure and profit of a pack of ruffians maddens me. The two things, to me, are part of the same whole. If, as Mr. Cox suggests, this act of mercy could be done by an order from the Home Secretary, he would be heartening the cause of freedom and humanity throughout Europe by issuing it without a moment’s delay.

We hear of how this war is to lift up and purify the nations. How we are to emerge from it braver, truer, kinder. God grant it may be so. Meanwhile, might we not begin with this little thing that to many of us would mean so much? We are fighting for liberty, for justice. Cannot our hearts be big enough that even our little fellow-artists, the birds, shall have their share in our triumph?

Henry James a British Citizen

By Professor J. William White, of the University of Pennsylvania

To the Editor of The London Spectator:

I HAVE been asked so frequently during the last fortnight as to the real meaning of Henry James's recent renunciation of American citizenship that I feel inclined to make public my own interpretation of that act. I have no authority to speak for him, but I have ample reason to believe that, in addition to the very genuine feelings and motives he has already made public, there was another and probably a controlling factor that made him reach his decision at this juncture. This was intense dislike for and disapprobation of the official attitude of America since the beginning of the war.

He has watched with increasing disapproval the loss of opportunity after opportunity to assert and defend, not only the rights of all neutral nations, but the principles of civilization and of humanity.

He has watched our Government—with such extraordinary politeness that it involved the entire disregard of truth—notify Germany that her war zone decree, issued early in February, involved “an indefensible violation of neutral rights,” and that the United States would hold her to “a strict accountability for such acts” as those indicated by the decree.

He observed the answer to be the murder of an American citizen on the Falaba; then attacks upon two American vessels; and then the killing and drowning of more than one hundred Americans on the Lusitania, many of them women and little children.

He has then watched our Government again notify Germany—and again with great politeness—that the attacks upon Americans are “absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices, and the spirit of modern warfare”; that no plea of “military necessity” or of having given “warnings” could palliate “an unlawful and inhumane act”; that the attacks upon Americans must cease, and that

America expected the Imperial German Government (1) to disavow the acts; (2) to take immediate steps to prevent their recurrence; and (3) to make such reparation as might be possible.

He saw that in answer Germany did not do one single one of the three things demanded. She did not disavow the acts; on the contrary, she defended them. She did not take steps to prevent their recurrence; instead, she savagely and without warning attacked another merchant ship, the *Orduna*, carrying American passengers, and torpedoed an American ship, the *Nebraskan*. As to reparation, she did not even allude to it, but made lying statements about the *Lusitania* and her cargo and her murdered passengers, statements which were in themselves an insult to America because, if they had been true, they would have convicted our own Government of gross negligence or incapacity in the discharge of its duty as a neutral.

He has then watched the American Government once more politely reiterate “very earnestly and very solemnly” its former demands, and with equal earnestness and solemnity lay down the fundamental principles governing the issue, principles which involve “nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity” itself. And he has waited again for a reply from Germany, which, when it came, contained no disavowal, no offer of reparation, no pledge for the future, but instead a flat denial of Germany’s willingness to conform to either the customs of civilized warfare or the regulations of international law, coupled with an impudent proposal to let Americans use the high seas in safety, provided they should use certain ships and obey certain rules laid down by Germany; the reply actually, with unprecedented insolence, naming to a great power the number of ships it would graciously be permitted to have its people sail upon—and live.

And then after another delay he has

seen still another note—almost as polite as the first one—sent by his country to Germany, the gist of which was that if she murdered any more Americans it would be regarded as an “unfriendly act.” Ascribing the weightiest possible significance to that term as used in the devious and obscure language of diplomacy, it seemed to him so far from meeting the requirements of the situation, so far from upholding the honor and dignity of an outraged and insulted nation, that he did not desire any longer to bear even the one-hundred millionth part of either the responsibility or the shame. Who can blame him? As one of our papers has said:

Between the German and the American Governments there lie not only arrogant provocation and dishonored laws and contemptuously disregarded “scraps of paper,” but the bodies of more than one hundred American citizens treacherously and foully slain. When wholesale murder becomes a fit subject for arbitration, and when admitted, defended, and boasted acts of official assassination can be put aside in favor of diplomatic discussion of irrelevancies, a reply in kind may be sent to Berlin. Until then the indictment for causeless murder stands, and all the sophistry, evasions, and impudent “justifications” of a desperate Government cannot erase one red word of it.

I wonder how many Americans, abroad and at home, who have thought over this record of the last six months have felt ashamed for their country. Not many, of course, have the collateral reasons, the long residence in England, the daily association and intimate friendship with its people, the acquirement of property, the formation of cherished social ties that underlie Mr. James’s action. But it is safe to say that unless acts, not words, are soon to characterize America’s policy toward Germany there will be millions of Americans who, though they would not follow his example, would understand and sympathize with his desire to throw in his lot with a country that is at least fighting, not talking.

I hope and believe, however, that the Americans who are “too proud to fight” mostly wear petticoats, and that there are very few, even of them. I believe that “neutrality” is rapidly becoming a term of reproach. I believe that Mr.

Wilson’s admonition to be “neutral even in thought,” which was at first merely inane and ludicrous, now seems hateful. I believe, in other words, that the great mass of our people—say, 80 to 90 per cent.—agree, with Life, that “A neutral is the ignoblest work of God,” and that their feelings are well expressed by the lines in the same American periodical:

When murder, arson, and rapine
Are worthy of the laurel green—
Then I’ll be Neutral.
When drowning children in the sea
Is charter to nobility—
Then I’ll be Neutral.
When killing mothers with their young
Becomes a deed by poets sung—
Then I’ll be Neutral.

* * * * *
When my own sense of wrong and right
Has faded into hopeless night—
Then I’ll be Neutral.
Or—blank of mind—I do not know
The good and true from sin and woe—
Then I’ll be Neutral.

That voices, I think, the sentiment of the American people. They lined up solidly behind the President when he issued his first “strict accountability” message to Germany. They have supported him since in each successive manifesto because, taking his words at their face value, they seemed to promise results for the good not only of America but of all civilization. But Americans at home and abroad have noted with apprehension the continued disposition to narrow the scope of his efforts, to substitute only “American citizens” for all non-combatants in his insistence upon safety at sea; to magnify the warning of two ships and the setting of their crews and passengers adrift in open boats into a disposition on the part of Germany to comply with our “earnest and solemn” demands; to submit still longer to the insolent behavior of the “Imperial German Government,” the impudence and mendacity of its official representatives in Washington, and the treasonable propaganda of its German, pro-German, and German-American advocates in the United States.

Some of us have lost all faith in any spontaneous action on the part of our Administration which shall properly represent and transform into deeds the

best and highest impulses of our people. Others are more hopeful. But when an American, hitherto as loyal and as representative as Henry James, feels impelled to renounce his citizenship, and when hundreds of others abroad—and millions at home—cannot avoid a sense of shame at the position of their country in this greatest of all crises in the history of the world, it is time for thinking and earnest Americans to bestir themselves and to try to find some way of transmuting their profound beliefs into honorable and worthy performance.

I do not for a moment want to imply that the action of Mr. James is of itself of great national or international importance. He would himself be horrified

at such a suggestion. I do think, however, that as an index to the feelings of myraids of his former fellow-countrymen it is of high significance, and that by reason of his very modesty and shyness and dislike of notoriety there is a possibility that it may not convey to Americans the message and the portent which are implicit in it and which constitute its claim to be properly interpreted to them.

I hope I have not misrepresented him. This has been written without a word of consultation with him, although I have seen him frequently. If I am wrong he may set me right if he cares to do so. I am, Sir, &c.,

J. WILLIAM WHITE.

The Heavenly Twins

[From The London Daily Chronicle.]

(“All is done by dream and daring.”—
The Rev. W. Major Scott, M. A.)

These twin angels, Dream and Daring,
Standing by the Great White Throne,
Vowed their vow, and hither faring,
Heard Creation’s travail groan.

Dream flies over wold and city,
Strewing stars about the night,
Waking Chivalry and Pity,
Dressing Duty in Delight.

Daring looks from maiden lashes
In the eyes of common youth;
Haunted by her glance, he dashes
Foremost up the steeps of truth.

Sojourn with us, Dream and Daring,
Light and lead us, Heavenly Twins;
Never halting, never sparing,
Heaven’s reward your lover wins.

Where your royal Order wanders
Knightly deeds like flowers spring,
Darkest thunder-clouds of Flanders
Cloak a guardian angel’s wing.

A. W.

The Mobilization of Hope

By Sir James Yoxall

Sir James Yoxall is a member of the British Parliament and a well-known author and contributor to magazines. This article appeared originally in *The London Daily News*.

THE old clock yawns, then strikes; I look out into the dark garden and think of the men in the trenches. The wind is changing, and a frightened poplar gives the alarm.

I feel the weakening which night brings in her shadows. Are we winning yonder? Or are we losing? They fought in a labyrinth yonder; are we all wandering in a labyrinth, having lost the clue?

We are winning so slowly, people say. Yet we may take courage even from that. For quick success is usually deceptive; the Germans had quick success as far as the Marne; poor Warneford had quick success. The tragic part is not that our cause should have failed awhile; every great cause fails at first. What seems to be the tragic part is when the fighters for a cause do not live to see it triumph. But I think they foresee.

We can mobilize hope. Earnest hoping is a powerful way of asking, and a part of the faith that foresees. Arthur Hugh Clough foresaw, for Italy, though in 1848 he witnessed her failure against Austria, and in 1861 at Florence he "died without the sight." He recognized facts meantime, as by Bishops, Deans, dons, scientific professors, and scare-leader writers we are daily dunned to do; at Peschiera he saw "the tricolor, a trampled rag, lie dust and dirt"; in the moldering cities of the Quadrilateral he saw the ruin left by Austria linger on, as you may see it linger there still, as it will linger on in Trieste. But he was not disheartened; he sang his "Say not the struggle naught availeth," all the same.

How the Brownings and he, how Meredith and the other English mobilizers of hope for Italia liberata, would rejoice today! What songs they would sing for

the red, white, and green flag that presses onward into Italia irredenta and into the pleats of the Alps! But there is Belgica irredenta, too, today, to sing for and to mobilize hope for. Our soldiers who have died in Flanders felt the tragic part of that, the ruin and the temporary ignominy for Belgica irredenta, and more keenly than we do; but, depend upon it, in the prophetic hour of battle they foresaw the vindication that is coming, and for Belgica liberata their hearts sang.

Clough, in his singing robes of vision, gave us a hymn of hoping, four verses which offer the refreshment sinking spirits need today. "Stand fast, don't be depressed, don't say it is all no use," he began.

Say not the struggle naught availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain!

Yet that is what the impatient and short-sighted among us—the impervious, the nickeled, with no pores to their minds—are saying today. I look at the vane above my neighbor's garage; it points steadily to the true wind. All other weathercocks than men point the same way in the same wind; why cannot we? O ye of little faith, it is the scares you read and the prophets you heed who depress you—but why do you so read and heed? What the Right Rev. Dr. Feeble-Faith, Principal Pangloss, half-pay Major Fetter-People, and Mr. Pick-Fault, M.P., are doing is to organize and mobilize despair.

But who are these false prophets for a people? What virtue have they in a crisis, who could not be wise even when life was calm? The sin of these panic patriots is mental treason; they are the true pro-Germans, they ought to be interred. For they delay our victory. "In

war all is mental," Napoleon said. He defined the virtues of a leader as not to worry, to keep a clear mind always, to show no change of countenance, to exhort the timid, to augment the brave, to rally the wavering; none of these things do our panic patriots achieve. But the poets foresee; listen, else, to Clough's second verse:

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field!

Yes, but for us, if we herd with the baaing flock of the tremulous, if we follow scared bellwethers in the wild leaps they try to take; yes, but for us, if we join in bleating out great breaths of despondency toward officers and men at the front. There is, there cannot but be, a telling influence in a big, simultaneous, psychical movement; big psychical movements are the long-range ordnance of the mind and spirit; that was why the Germans organized against us an orgy of national hate. Against them in arms let us organize faith and mobilize hope. The longer one lives the more one perceives that true power is not mechanical, that the abiding forces are not logical, but instinctive, that the springs and appeals of them do not lie within the region of argument and proof. So that even if half the statements made by the pessimists were rational they might all be wrong.

But they cannot half be true, for they arise out of vitiating prejudices and mental faults; anybody could trace the diagram of the dicta to be expected of the men from whom they come. They come from indurated cynics, from disappointed ambition, from vehement crudity, from effervescent nullities, ardent jealousies,

and—to use Milton's phrase for inappropriate Bishops—from "blind mouths"; from no judges, from oracles that ought to be dumb. Like most of us, they have only mind and soul enough for themselves; it is the poets who can feel and know for others. These praters cannot keep silence, however; though silence is, as Quakers know, though some Bishops do not, the most eloquent way of praying. They prate of what they call facts, but facts, brief facts, are something superimposed, a fleeting photograph, a changing picture upon a camera-obscura screen. They shout the apparently obvious, too; though only the reticences are worth listening for. Silently the Quakers wait for the reticences, and we may wait as calmly for manifestations of great, slow laws and immanent forces of nature at work; doing meantime the best we may to keep our cause in tune with those calm powers.

"God's in His heaven," sang Browning; "Germany's force is material, not moral," says Bergson; "which means that she is living upon material reserves alone." Poetry, theology, and philosophy concur, you see. "On the German side there is force spread out upon the surface; but on our side there is also deep force, resident in the depths."

Deep answers unto deep; but the enemy can only expect superficial aid. They are strong, but their strength is limited to itself, because they have put themselves out of tune with the great, slow forces, and into antagonism with the eternal laws; that is why they were in such a hurry, knowing the great slow force of time to be against them. Therefore in the end they must fail and fall, as a dozen tyrant empires have done.



As an English Mystic Sees the War

By W. S. Thayer

Hotel Champlain, Aug. 10, 1915.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

OME months ago the writer sent to a distinguished member of the British expeditionary force in France a copy of President Eliot's essays upon the war. The answer, which sets forth with such force the true essence of the cause for which France and England and Russia and their allies are fighting today, seems to him so fine that it deserves to be given to a larger public. It expresses in language of rare beauty the thoughts of many who appreciate the real significance of that for which this country has stood from the day of its birth; who know too well how utterly foreign, how fundamentally opposed are the principles for which Prussia is contending today to those ideals and aspirations which are dearer to us than life itself.

W. S. THAYER.

THE LETTER.

—, May 9, 1915.

My Dear Thayer: Thank you very much for sending me Eliot's book. It breathes a fine spirit, and takes the right view ("orthodoxy is my doxy, heterodoxy is the other man's doxy") of the course to be pursued. I think him hopelessly unworldly in projecting an international control under any conditions that we can yet foresee. Indeed, the present war is in a sense an attempt at it. Our side is fighting that treaties may be kept, and arbitration (Serbia) substituted for force. We are trying, like the police, to keep the peace. The only possible chance is that other nations, more than at present, should join in doing so.

You cannot prevent a nation becoming strong, nor will you ever get other nations to make war upon it for building too many dreadnaughts or enlisting too many battalions. Yet war is the only "sanction." You can only stop breaches of agreement by punishing them. You cannot then have any other

police than the battalions and ships of other nations. At the same time, war being what it is, it is hopeless to expect that any nation will engage in it who does not fear great loss or hope great gain. They will always be swayed by the influences which are now swaying Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania. No desire of justice would lead those countries to join us. I doubt if it would justify their rulers in declaring war.

An international police, therefore, will not in any measurable distance of time be anything else than it now is, the nations in arms; and the cry is that of an unworldly man who thinks that the world can save itself trouble by an agreement. The world could save itself trouble, but it is obvious that not much help can be obtained from agreements.

I am, however, surprised to find a very charming compatriot of yours speak hopefully of Eliot's idea. He dined with me two nights ago, and we discussed it.

I will tell you another way in which Eliot does not satisfy me. I, skeptic though I am, am, like every Englishman, a mystic. I see in this war almost literally a fight between God and the devil. All is at stake that we think highest and noblest. If you ask yourself what is highest and noblest, what is the real meaning of progress and civilization, you will give up all material things as unimportant. You will find that what we call intellectual growth is only a summation of items, not a real advance of the individual intelligence, and that the things that matter are moral. I think they are the ideals of justice, freedom, and pity, and I am not sure that they cannot all be resolved into the latter. Christ taught it, but it was not new even then. I think it has been taught more forcibly by the masses of the poor and oppressed, who have taught it by deed rather than by word, and have compelled respect by hard fighting. But

without religion I am certain it would not have had the vogue it has.

It is easy to see its weakness. We English are a set of sentimentalists, and have lost in our worship of pity much of the sternness that leads to health. The sense of this extravagance has led shortsighted Germans, like young men in revolt against the ideals of their elders, to declare all pity mere idleness. Pity, they say, is a decadent nation's excuse for not polishing its sword.

By our unwillingness to compel we have fostered selfishness. We have said the man is the greatest. Do you remember your Aristotle? He must have free play. He must grow as he pleases. The State will grow with him, and since we know less about the State than about the man, we must legislate for the man, and so the State will come by its gain.

The German does the opposite, and has a noble ideal of his own, but a narrow mind to worship with.

Now, with all my soul I believe that the ideal of pity is the noblest thing we have, and that its denial which waves on every German flag is the denial of all that the greatest men have striven for for centuries. I see in this war the colossal strife between the doctrine which I call good and *der Geist der*

stets verneint. You see, I am almost borrowing the language of the Kaiser. I feel that the two enormous spirits that move this world are showing their weapons almost visibly, and that never was the garment of the living world so thin over the gods that it conceals.

I am not much elated by the thought. I have little opinion of Providence as an ally, and I am surprised at the weakness that the Kaiser shows for his pocket deity. What we have to do, in my opinion, we do ourselves, and our task is none the lighter that we defend the right. But I am hardened and set by the thing I believe. We feel that we are fighting for the life of England—yes, for the safety of France—yes, for the sanctity of treaties—yes, but behind these secondary and comparatively material issues, for something far deeper, far greater, for something so great and deep that if our efforts fail I pray God I may die before I see it.

The words of Eliot, interesting, true, and graceful as they are, sound not in me with the terrific ring that this war merits. I see in every skirmish the fight between heaven and hell, between the thing that I blindly worship and the thing that it despises and abhors. *A toi.*

X.

Vale

By GEOFFREY DEARMER.

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

Not the slow mourners nor the measured tread
 Shall blind our passion, silent, still, and free,
 Vast as the winds that stir the vagrant sea,
 Strong as the bonds of Love. No mortal dread
 Bedims our vision. Yet, thou drooping head,
 Where lies the splendor of our victory,
 When all the beauty which encompassed thee
 Lies buried with the great impassioned dead?
 Oh, idle thought, for man's triumphant will,
 Unmoved by Greed, unfettered by Desire,
 Beats stronger than the body sacrificed.
 Mother, behold thy son—Death cannot kill
 One who passed scathless through embittered fire
 To prove the eternal certainty of Christ.

Venice in War Time

By Ernest W. Smith

This article appeared originally in The London Daily News.

IF it had not been what it was, a bright moonlit night, I don't think I should have recognized Venice in war time.

The train, with its carriage windows closely curtained, (for you must not look out on the country when you are passing through the war zone,) crept like a spectre over the bridge spanning the lagoon into Venice. Soldiers were sleeping in the darkened station awaiting their trains to the front. The two or three passengers who looked like tourists had to run the gauntlet at the barrier of a dozen gilt-braided porters, each anxious to impress upon you that his hotel was still open.

If it were not that they followed you clamoring outside the station you might think you had stepped out into a city of the dead. There was not a gondola in sight in the first bend of the Grand Canal—indeed, I found out afterward that no gondolas are allowed to be on the canals after 8 o'clock, except the privileged hotel omnibus gondolas, which meet the night train for the convenience of passengers. As you were paddled silently over the water until you came in sight of the Rialto Bridge, where the gondolier who knows his Venice will take you a short cut through narrow canals to the landing near the Place St. Mark, you were conscious of passing through a curious Venice, which, if it had not been that the moon lighted it up as bright as day, would have been a weird Venice. As it was, it was more natural to take an interest in what you missed than in what you saw.

The banished gondola! The old-time conveyance of conspirators against the republic, painted black so that it should be able to creep unseen through darkened waterways—just as tonight you could have imagined Venice three or four centuries ago if it were not for that spoil-sport moon. The gondola was the black steed of revolutionaries; it is re-

tained as the black steed of Venetians up to the present time as a reminder of the intrigues its invisibility favored in the Middle Ages. Hotel keepers have put a few gaudily painted ones on the canals as advertisements, and my old friend Don Carlos used to send a bright yellow gondola to the station to take me to the Loredan Palace when I occasionally visited him in exile at Venice.

All light and electric power is cut off from 8 o'clock at night until 4 o'clock the next morning. Where a gleam of light did peep through the shuttered windows overlocking the canal it was the dim ray of a candle or an oil lamp. If you don't dine before 8 you cannot have the benefit of the electric fan to keep you cool and blow mosquitos down into your soup.

When you set foot on the Piazzetta and pass behind the two columns with St. Theodore still standing on the crocodile and the Winged Lion of St. Mark still engrossed in the Book, you see in the corner just where St. Mark's forms an angle with the Doge's palace two tiny dim lights. They are in a pillared exterior gallery of the cathedral, and even if they were not such feeble glimmers being hidden away at the back of the gallery they would never attract the attention of an areoplanist. These two lights have burned nightly in Venice for centuries.

The legend is that in the time of the republic a murder was committed in Venice for which a little baker boy was convicted and executed. Afterward it was proved that he was innocent, and as it was a crime which had impressed the Venetians of the period, the citizens were horrified at the terrible blunder, and to warn juries to be more careful in the future they furnished the money to provide heralds to enter the Venetian Assize Courts whose duty it was to ring out a trumpet call before the jury retired to consider a capital crime, and proclaim the

words, "Remember the little baker boy!" That Venetians should be reminded for ever of this miscarriage of justice it was ordained that these two lamps should be lighted every night over the Piazzetta. The death penalty, except for military offenses, has long been abolished in Italy, so the heralds' task has fallen into abeyance; but the twin lamps are always there, though it is doubtful if one Venetian in a thousand knows why their dim glimmer relieves the darkness of this untenanted gallery.

Daylight reveals a quite unfamiliar façade of St. Mark's. The four famous bronze horses, brought to Venice by Doge Dandolo in 1204, have been removed from above the portals, where they have stood for nearly a century—since Dec. 13, 1815, to be exact. This time they are simply hidden away and not taken into captivity, as when Napoleon carried them off to Paris to decorate the arch in the Place du Carrousel. They came back to Venice then, thanks to that conqueror's good-will, and they will come back again this time. A Venetian managed to snapshot one of them as it was being swung down by a derrick, and some of his fellow-citizens are the proud possessors of a picture post card of the scene inscribed "Off to the front."

The left doorway as you enter the cathedral is blocked right up to the top with sandbags to protect mosaics which, even if they were only peppered by the bullets of a bomb exploding in the Place St. Mark, would be ruined forever. From this it is apparent that the mosaics over the centre and right portals are not so

precious. Inside the scene is strange. All the statues are padded and shrouded in canvas. The votary chapels are hidden behind sandbags, which protect their ornate altars. One solitary figure of Christ is raised in the centre of the church, around which worshippers kneel. There are heaps of sand piled around the pillars—whether to protect their bases or for use in case an incendiary bomb sets fire to the cathedral I did not ascertain.

The Doge's palace is safeguarded in a different way. The destruction of one of the pillars supporting the arches around it might bring about the collapse of those world-famed walls above the Piazzetta. So engineers have bricked in all the archways in order that, if an accident happens and a column is blown away, the weight of the walls will rest on the brick buttresses. In other ways the outward aspect of Venice has been changed. The mention of these will reassure lovers of art and antiquity that the Italians are not blind to air risks.

The people have taken the aeroplane raids very calmly. Very few personal injuries have been caused, and some Venetians will tell you that they were inconvenienced more by the loss of their breakfast milk on the occasion of the last visitation than by anything else. Venice receives its meat, vegetables, and milk in barges from the mainland. An enterprising aviator who dropped darts on the city instead of bombs made a dead set on the milk barge with such success that he punctured enough large milk cans to cause the supply to run short that morning.

The Pope to East Prussia

What purports to be a letter of sympathy sent to the people of East Prussia by Pope Benedict, through the Bishop of Frauenburg, is printed by the Bayerische Kurier, says a telegram from Munich of Aug. 14, 1915, to The Associated Press in Amsterdam. The letter, which was sent through the Papal Nuncio at Munich, is given as follows:

The Holy Father deplores with sincerest sympathy the sad position of the population of the Baltic provinces, who, in fact, for their loyal Christian views deserved a better fate.

At the same time the Holy Father welcomes most heartily the wonderful readiness of all Germany to make sacrifices in order to assist the stricken provinces. As a sign of his fatherly and loving care, he sends this gift of 10,000 marks (\$2,500) for the relief of sufferers.

Modern Troops in Armor

By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

Writing recently to The London Times on the proposal that the British troops be equipped with armor, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle said:

SUCH actions as that of May 9, where several brigades lost nearly half their numbers in endeavoring to rush over the 300 yards which separated us from the German trenches, must make it clear that it is absolutely impossible for unprotected troops to pass over a zone which is swept by machine guns. Therefore you must either forever abandon such attacks or you must find artificial protection for the men.

It has always seemed to me extraordinary that the innumerable cases where Bible, cigarette case, watch, or some other chance article has saved a man's life have not set us scheming so as to do systematically what has so often been the result of a happy chance.

Your correspondents have mentioned the objection that any protection may itself be broken and that splinters of it may aggravate the wound. One answer to that would be to arm only those points where a wound would in any case be mortal. These points are really very few, and no great weight of metal would be needed to protect them.

Sir Arthur suggests that each man should wear, first, a helmet; secondly, a curved plate of highly tempered steel not more than a foot in diameter over the heart, and, thirdly, a similar plate covering the abdomen. He adds:

With these three precautions the death rate should be greatly reduced from rifle and machine gun fire, as also from shrapnel. Nothing, of course, will avail against a direct shell burst, but, granting that, individual life would be saved.

This does not bear upon the capture of a position, since so many would fall wounded that the weight of attack would be spent before the stormers reached

the trenches. For this armor which will give complete protection is needed, and, since the weight of this is more than a man can readily carry, it must be pushed in front upon wheels.

I picture a great number of plates held together like the shields of a Roman tortoise, and pushed by men who crouch behind them. Others are fixed sideways upon their wheels, and are used upon the flank of the advance to prevent an enfilading fire. There is not one tortoise which would attract the concentrated fire of artillery, but each company or platoon forms its own. These numerous armor-plated bodies rush with small loss over the space which has already been cleared as far as possible of obstacles, and so have some chance of reaching the enemy's line, not as an exhausted fragment, but as a vigorous storming party, with numbers intact.

ARMOR IN THE TRENCHES.

Sir Arthur's suggestion was preceded by the following article printed in The London Times:

One of the most remarkable features of this war has been the return which has been made in various directions to older, if not to ancient, methods. The steel fort has been discredited and the earthwork justified; the strength and direction of the wind has become a leading factor once again, as it was in the days of bows and arrows, since aeroplanes are affected by the wind and gas attacks determined by it; hand grenades and bombs have assumed real importance. Finally, the question of armor for the fighting man himself has come up for consideration.

It was inevitable that this question should arise, and the astonishing thing is that discussion of it in this country has been so long postponed. Early in the war visitors to the Belgian front saw a form of shield which was used

by the soldiers. This shield was fixed in the ground when in use and the man lay behind it and was protected by it. It was employed by cavalry and, it is understood, answered the purpose for which it was intended.

The idea grew in popularity on the Continent; in a shop window in Calais a breastplate was exposed for sale many months ago for which it was claimed that it would turn aside bullets and pieces of shrapnel. A shield of this kind was tested very carefully by a group of private inventors and was finally submitted to the authorities of several of the nations at war. During the private tests a revolver was emptied at the shield while it was being worn. The shield was also subjected to rifle fire with, on the whole, good results. The results were certainly so good as to merit more extended trial.

In The Times of Oct. 28, 1914, there appeared a message from Reuter's correspondent in Paris to the following effect:

A Rennes newspaper says that the shield which has been placed at the disposal of the French infantry in Argonne is a protection against bullets which has already been adopted by the Russian Government, and of which the French Government is at present having a large number made by the works at St. Hilaire-du-Harcourt, which have the monopoly of the shield. Work is proceeding actively at the factory.

Since that date references to the use of armor have appeared from time to time in medical communications from the front, and almost invariably these references have been of a favorable character. The high velocity of modern bullets causes them to ricochet from the shells, while pieces of shrapnel, which often inflict large surface wounds, are turned away, or at any rate have the force of the impact broken. Metal shields for the back and legs have from time to time been mentioned in connection with trench warfare, it being in these regions that soldiers are frequently hit by exploding shrapnel shells.

The latest contribution to the armor question is of an exceedingly interesting character, because it deals with the results secured by the use of this protection. Dr. Devraigne, says *The Lancet*, has now systematically studied the value of headpieces of metal issued some time ago to the French troops in the trenches. He has found the value of these *calottes métalliques* to be considerable. He examined 55 cases of head injury, in which 42 of the wounded men had no headpiece and 13 wore helmets.

Of the 42, 23 suffered fracture of the skull, and most of these died. The remaining 19 had scalp wounds only. In the case of the 13 armored men, eight were suffering from "cerebral shock" of a more or less severe character, but none of them died, while the remaining five had merely slight superficial wounds or scratches.

Other soldiers who wore helmets had received no visible head wounds at all. *The Lancet* comments:

These figures do not, of course, prove that the *calotte* is an absolute safeguard against fractures of the skull by bullet wound or shell wound in the trenches, but, as a matter of fact, in the series of cases studied there was not a single fracture of the skull among the protected men, and Dr. Devraigne concludes that the value of the metallic headpiece has been absolutely demonstrated and that it should be much more generally employed.

That this conclusion is a sound one seems to be fairly obvious. The objection to the use of armor has been to a large extent founded upon the fact that it was heavy and difficult to make; but modern conditions of warfare have discounted the question of weight to a great extent. Any one who has visited our British hospitals knows that head wounds are very frequent indeed. We should certainly reduce the incidence of these wounds if we followed the example of our allies and gave our men helmets similar to those served out to the French soldiers. We have already had eight months in which to consider the question.

Volunteering or Conscription in Britain?

By Edward Carpenter

This article by Edward Carpenter, the democratic author and poet, appeared originally in The London Daily Chronicle. It opposes the propaganda now carried on in Great Britain in favor of a conscript army.

THE present hour, when the above subjects are being discussed on all hands, is peculiarly a time when the people of Britain should make up their minds on the great question of voluntaryism and compulsion.

The magnificent response to the call for defense of the motherland—response not only of our home peoples, but of our colonies and dependencies all over the world—has surprised ourselves. It has astonished Germany, and brought to our allies an unexpected satisfaction—since they, indeed, looked to our navy for help, but never supposed a Continental army of any magnitude would be forthcoming. I say “defense of the motherland,” for it is clear, I think—whatever various theories may be held about the origins of the war—that the idea of defense, not of offense, has been the great deciding urge and inspiration of the enthusiasm.

France, curiously, seems to be not quite satisfied, and to be of opinion that Britain is not bearing her full share of the brunt of this contest; and even M. Romain Rolland, in a late letter to me, while protesting against the war, takes the view that if the other allied nations have conscription it is not quite fair of us not to adopt it also. But this opinion, I think, we can trace to the sinister influence of the Northcliffe paper in Paris. We cannot regard it as justified. Britain may, as usual, have been rather slow in making up her mind, but that she is putting all her forces and all her resolution into the work now cannot be doubted.

In the face of this great object lesson in the value and power of the voluntary principle when the heart of a nation is

once roused, it is more than probable that the outcry in favor of conscription which we are hearing in some quarters is really an anti-democratic political move, having in view the scotching of the rising power of the masses.

For the arguments against conscription (as regards our country, at any rate) are really so strong that for every sincere person they must, one would think, be convincing.

In the first place, it is contrary to the genius of our people, who, though slow and deficient in capacity of rapid organization, are very persistent in the determination to grow, as it were, out of their own roots, and in the dislike of being pushed into things against their will.

In the second place, it is intolerable to our sense of freedom, and it ought to be intolerable to our Christian sentiment, to be compelled to fight. For while service of some kind to the State might reasonably be regarded as compulsory, organized and professional murder is so revolting to the feelings, the consciences, and the temperaments of some people that to force them into it would seem the height of wickedness. It would also be the height of folly, for nothing is more certain than that a number of such people compulsorily enrolled in a force do seriously lower the general standard of courage, efficiency, and determination in that force.

Thirdly, at the present juncture, when the voluntary response has had such great material result, and exercised so fine a moral influence, by showing forth the heart of the nation, and what can be done by the principle of freedom—to

cloud and ruin all this result and influence by compulsion would be foolish indeed; and all the best that England stands for in the eyes of the world—and has stood for so long—would be negatived and made of no avail.

In the fourth place, it is hardly possible to exaggerate the danger which conscription brings with it—the danger of putting into Governmental hands a weapon which at any future time may be easily used not only for carrying on an iniquitous war abroad, but for repressing the democracy at home. In view of the notorious way in which private cliques in the modern nations are able to "collar" Governments, and run them for their own ends, this danger is of the most serious order; and no institution which would tend to increase it should be allowed.

This fourth argument seems to me final. Whatever may be said for conscription in France or Germany, or elsewhere, or might be said in the case of our having a true citizen army under a thoroughly democratic régime, cannot well be held to be applicable here and now in this country, where government is still so much a matter of class, and the democratic principle—especially in our foreign policy—is still so little assured.

Let us, then, resist the conscription idea to the last, and hope, indeed, by standing out to dissuade the other nations of the world from it—a conclusion which would immensely assist the general cause of peace.

But it will be said, and is said, "Surely every man is morally bound to help his country in the hour of need—his country to which, consciously or unconsciously, he owes an incalculable debt." And here is an argument to which we must certainly attend.

We do not want to be hounded or compelled into anything if we can help it; but we certainly must all acknowledge that we owe a duty to our country—a duty all the more stringent in a time of crisis or distress. And not only every man, but every woman also. Let us then acknowledge this duty, openly and heartily, but at the same time insist, each of us, on our right of choice as to what our active contribution shall be.

Here is a great free principle which may be applied all around, whether to militarism or industrialism, whether to man or woman, whether in a time of crisis like the present, or whether under normal and permanent conditions of peace. It is manifestly absurd, if you adopt a military conscription and force people to fight in the supposed interest of their country, not to force them also to grow food for it, and to engage in other things at least as important as fighting. If you have military conscription the logical conclusion is industrial conscription, and Prussianizing all around. And the only way out of this conclusion is the acceptance by everybody of the duty to qualify himself or herself for useful work of some kind, and the actual performance of such work when needed—on the condition of each person retaining a free choice as to what his particular activity should be.

This may sound a little vague and general in statement, but perhaps it is best to keep it so for the present. What we want is the general acknowledgment of duty and the general insistence on free choice.

So far the acknowledgment of duty of this kind has been a thing utterly neglected in our social life. Indeed, one may almost say that the evasion of such duty has been one of the chief objects of life. However, it may have been in the old feudal organization of society, in the modern commercial order the sense of solidarity and communal duty has been broken up, and nations have resolved themselves into whirlpools of individuals, each seeking to "get on" and succeed at the expense of the other individuals. The whole system of the employment of labor, the payment of dividends, the production of "goods," and the current ideals of "respectability" and "success," have been founded on the principle of evasion, and have gone to create a society of parasites, in which each member, instead of actively contributing to the welfare of the others, makes it his chief business and object to live by preying upon the others. It is obvious that such a "society" cannot possibly hold together very long.

It is like a swarm of bees when the queen has departed from among them.

It would seem that now, even possibly in the present crisis, there must come a complete volte-face and reversal of our current ideals; and the call for national service, if rightly understood, may lead to this, and to the regeneration of our social life.

Yet even here—even while urging that every boy and girl in the future should be taught some downright manual trade, and so be ready at some later time, and qualified, to help in the national life—I would avoid direct compulsion. Education, public opinion, collateral pressure of various kinds, may bring about an equivalent result, without the damage to the national sense of honor which compulsion implies. In Germany, on various sacred lawns and stretches of grass, one sees the threat “Das Betreten ist streng verboten.” “To trespass is to be arrested and severely fined.” In Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens, well kept and orderly as they are, one is charmed to see no trespass boards at all. With extraordinary good sense the same result of protecting

the grass is arrived at without legal threats and insults, but by the simple device of placing obstacles here and there to free passage—an iron hurdle at one point, a low railing at another. The public can surmount these obstacles if it likes, but it is clear that only a small fraction will care to do so. The public appreciates the object aimed at, and is all the more ready to co-operate in sparing the grass because it is not “ordered” to do so. The moral is plain. Happy would it be if we could get a similar general principle established in this and many other matters connected with our national life, and if, instead of hard and fast laws and learned wranglings over them, and set punishments for their infraction, we had a simple system of obstacles and inducements by which the path of wrongdoing in a perfectly natural way was made difficult, (though not, of course, impossible,) and the path of the public welfare and advantage easy and attractive. In that way much could be done, and without the irritation and resistance which law and compulsion in general excite.

Zeppelin Insurance

[From The London Daily News.]

We have received a claim, under The Daily News Zeppelin scheme of free insurance, for damage done to a house at Romford, Essex, by a British naval balloon in its accidental descent during a thunderstorm last Saturday. The house is 14 King Edward Road, and is the property of the claimant, Mrs. Mary Gilbert, who lives at 22.

Under the scheme of The Daily News, which was the first daily paper to give free insurance against aircraft attacks, and is now the only one continuing these benefits, an insured reader is compensated in the event of his or her residence being damaged by a shot or shell fired by an enemy warship or by a British anti-aircraft gun, or by an enemy bomb. Hitherto no compensation has been granted for accidental damage done by British naval or military balloons.

But in the case of Mrs. Gilbert, who is a widow, and whose property has been damaged considerably through a mishap due almost entirely to a thunderstorm, we have decided to make a substantial grant, although her case does not come within the actual scope of our scheme.

Mrs. Gilbert viewed the broken chimney pots, dislodged tiles, and smashed windows of her house with philosophic complacency. “That balloon was on my roof for six hours before they dragged it off,” she told a Daily News representative yesterday morning. “I happened to be in the garden wondering where the balloon was going to drop, never dreaming that in a few minutes I should see a lot of naval men clambering on my roof and cracking the slates. The people came rushing in hundreds to see the aerial visitor, which I am told weighed 1 ton 11 cwts. One of the officers was hurt in the scramble to get a hold, and a man on the roof was partially gassed. In its descent the ropes of the balloon twisted themselves around some of my fruit trees, completely uprooting one, and a fence was smashed in.”

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

John Bull in a Dilemma



—(C) *Fliegende Blaetter*.

"Now it's high time I were finding a new alliance."

[Dutch Cartoon]

America's Hesitations



—From *Die Nieuwe Amsterdamer*.

WILSON: "Hold me, hold me, else I will commit a murder!"

[American Cartoon]

The Balkan Goat



—From *The New York Evening Sun*.

“He will make a fairish meal!”

[English Cartoon]

The Advance That Failed



—From *Punch, London.*

THE KAISER: "Have you had enough?"
THE CZAR: "No. Have you?"

[American Cartoon]

The Arabic Disavowal

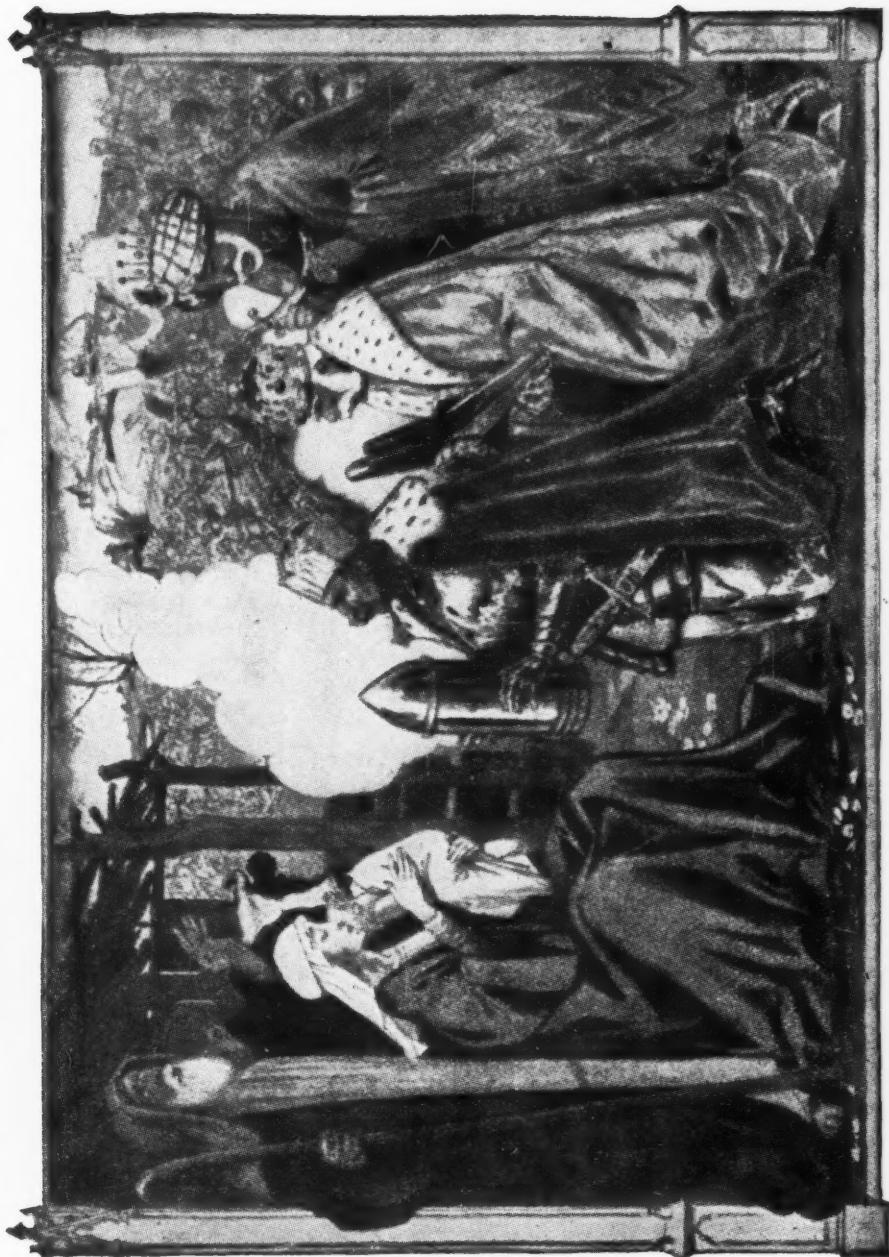


—From *The New York World*.

Saluting it.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Adoration of the Magi



—From a Dutch Postcard by Louis Raemakers.

The Wise Men offering their gifts.

[American Cartoon]

A Reminder

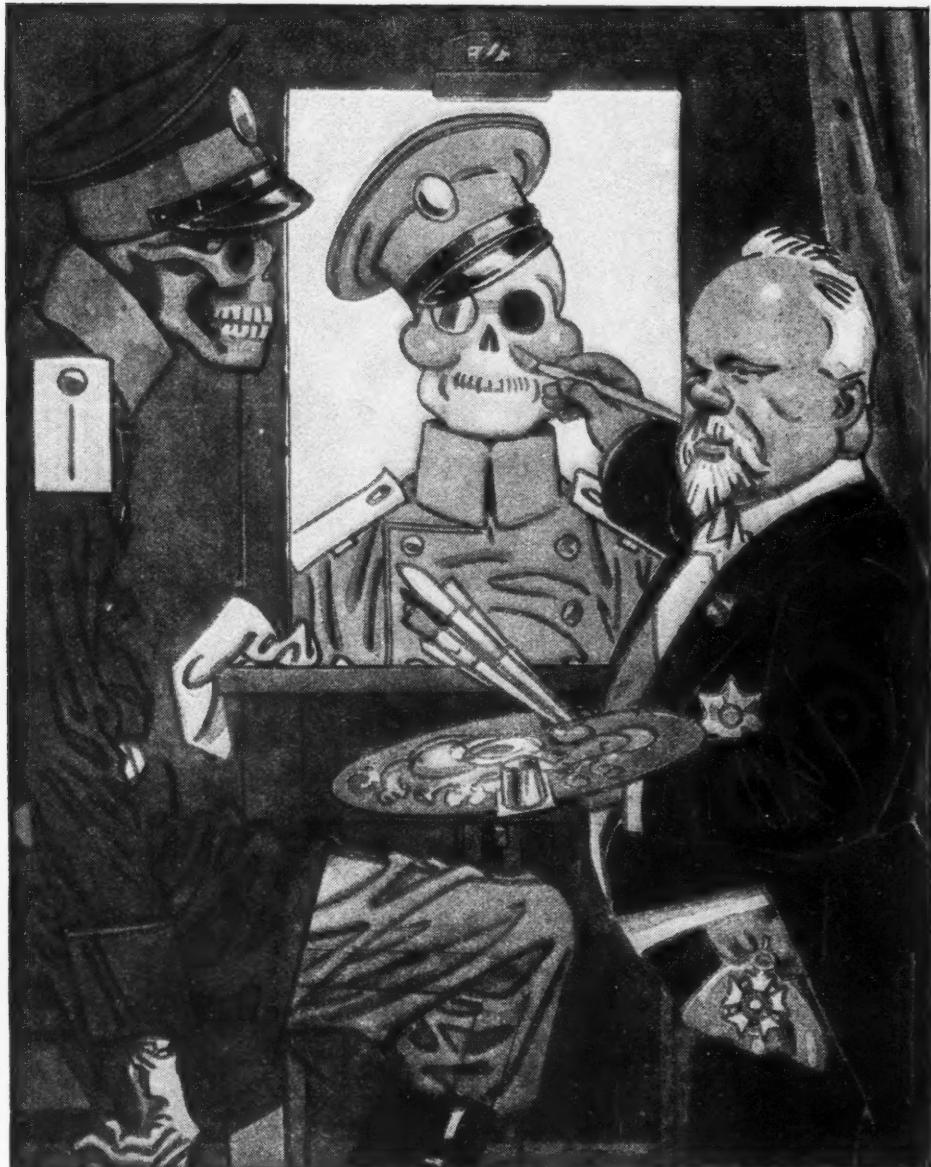


—Rogers in *New York Herald*.

"Yes, Father, I remember you said the war would end in October."

[German Cartoon]

The Glozing Painter



—(C) Lustige Blaetter.

Poincaré paints his dear liege brother always in the rosiest colors.

[English Cartoon]

The Indelible Stain

"German sailors are gallant men, and gallant men do not like being put on to a coward's job."—MR. BALFOUR.



—From *The Bystander, London.*

The Ghosts of Submarine Officers (to Admiral von Tirpitz): "Our lives we gave; but you have taken our honor, too!"

[American Cartoon]

Ambassador Dumba's Departure



—From *The New York World*.

“Having regard to the self-willed temperament of the President.”

[German Cartoon]

The Iron Age at the Königsplatz

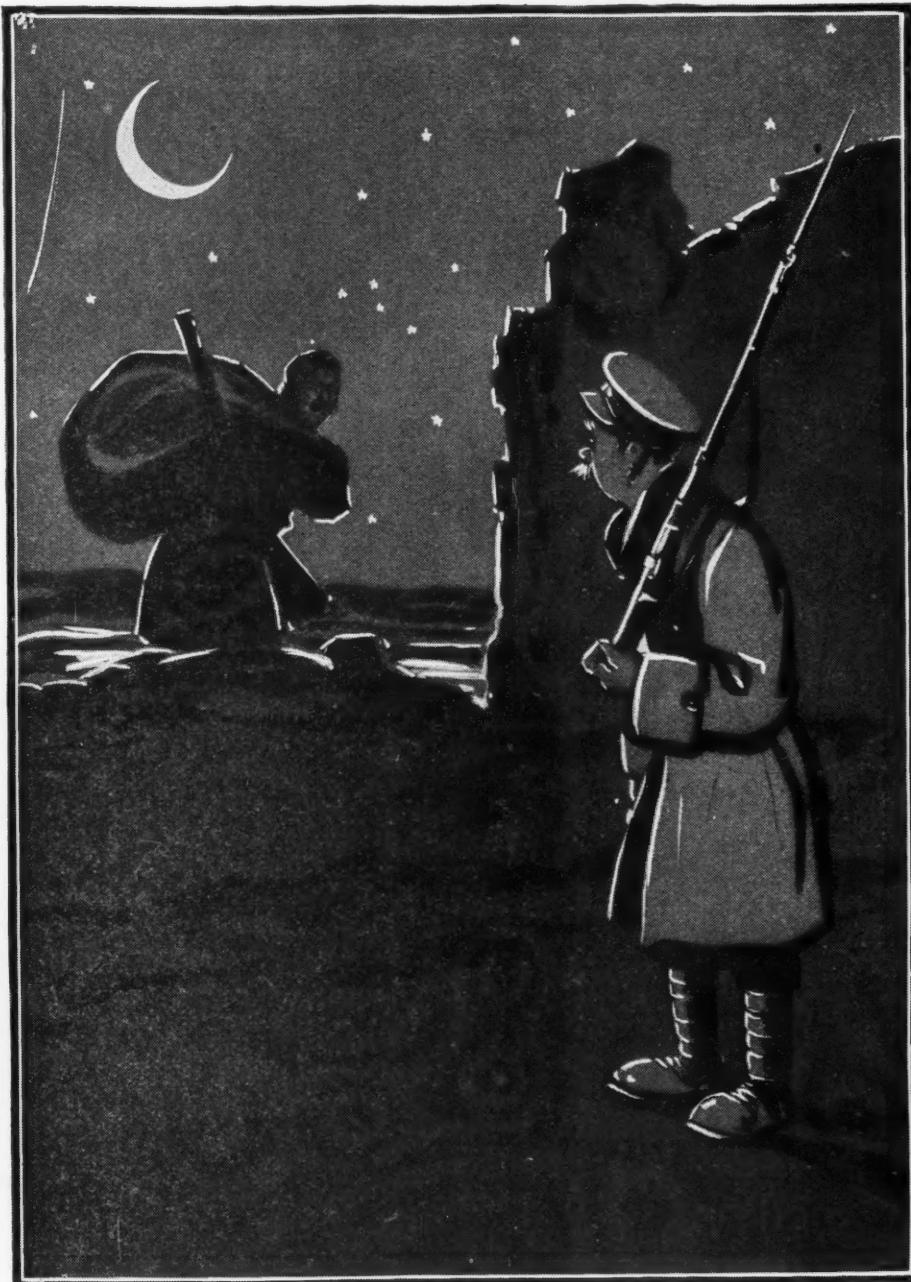


—(C) Lustige Blaetter.

The Iron Chancellor drives the first iron nail for the iron Hindenburg.

[English Cartoon]

"No Possible Doubt Whatever"



—From The Bystander, London, by Captain Bruce Bairnsfather.

SENTRY: "'Alt! Who goes there?"

HE OF THE BUNDLE: "You shut yer — mouth, or I'll — come and knock yer — head off."

SENTRY: "Pass, friend!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

Cain's Retribution



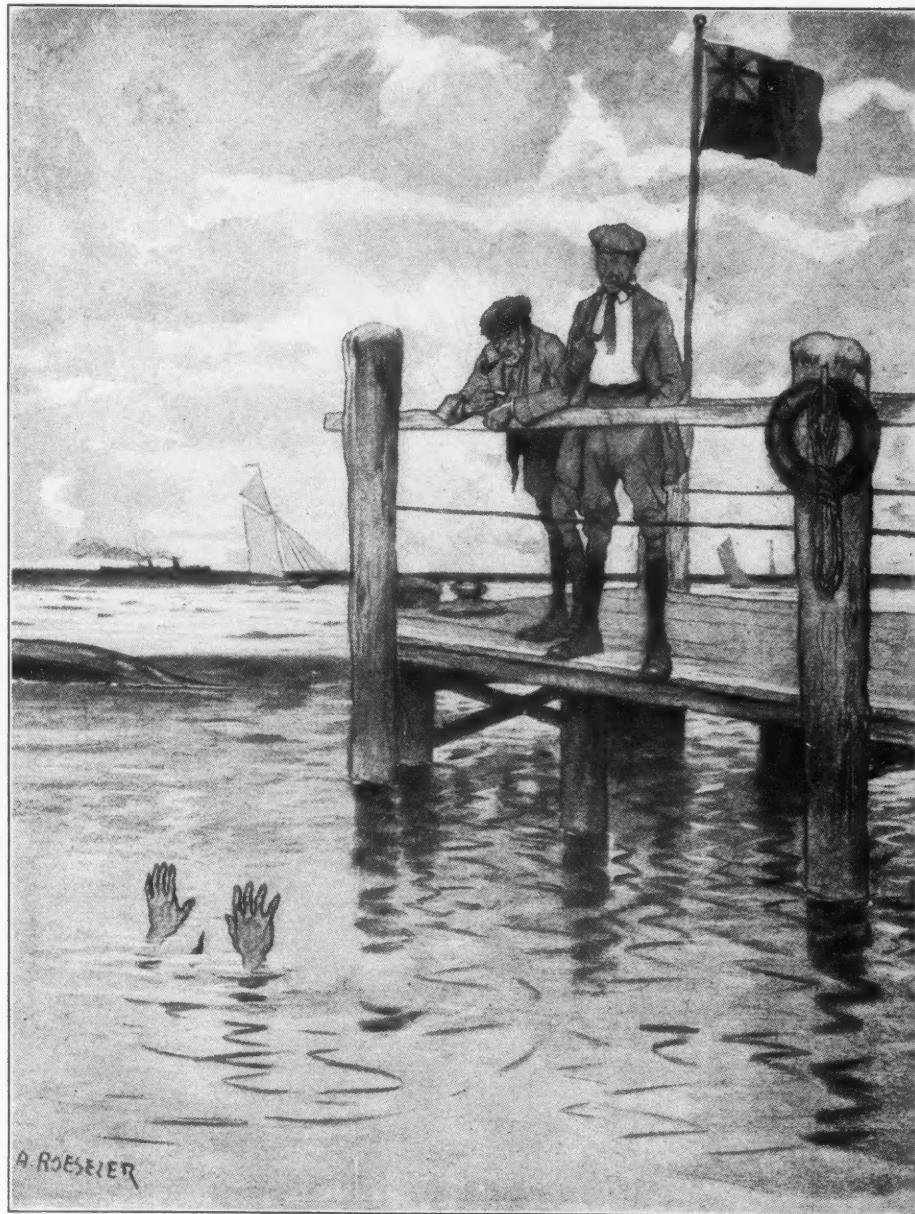
—From a Dutch Postcard by Louis Raemakers.

The sacrifice which is not pleasing to the Lord.

[German Cartoon]

Good Friends

Lloyd's, England, takes bets on Russia's submergence backdown.



—(C) *Fliegende Blätter*.

RUSSIAN: "Help, help! I drown!"

ENGLISHMEN: "I bet you he gets waterlogged in five minutes." "Well! I'll bet twenty pounds he waterlogs in eight minutes."

[English Cartoon]

The Imps of War



—From *Punch, London.*

KAISER: "After all the trouble I've taken with you I must say that, as little terrors, you disappoint me."

[American Cartoon]

The Great Drive

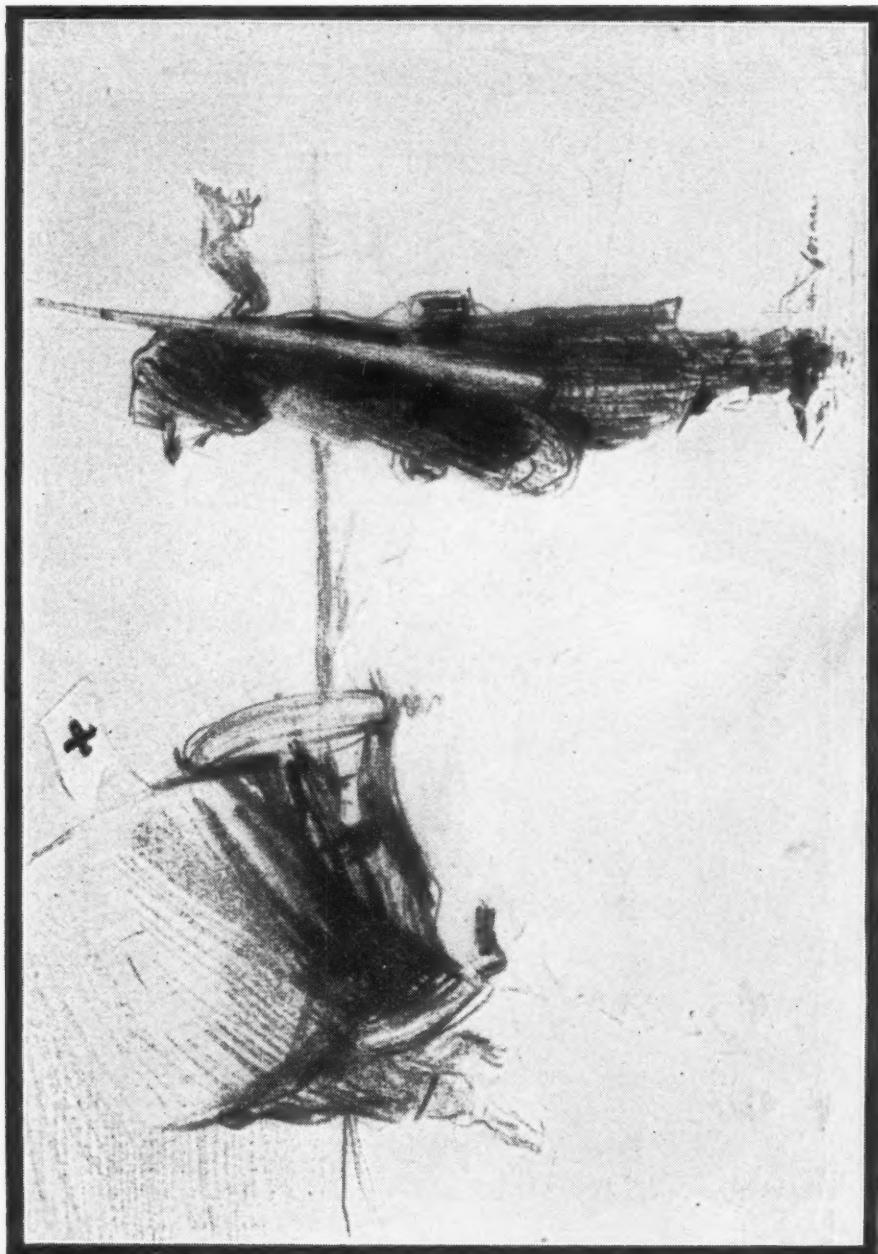


—From *The New York Sun*.

“Now the machine is in good trim.”

[French Cartoon]

The Red Cross Danger



—From the *Salon des Humoristes* by Forain.

“ Cache donc ton drapeau! Tu vas te faire tuer! ”

(The French soldier says to the driver of the ambulance wagon: “ You had better hide that flag. They’re sure to kill you.”)

[American Cartoon]

The Aniseed Bag



—From *The New York World*.

They're in full cry after the quarry.

[German Cartoon]

The Czar's Nightmare



-(C) Jugend.

The Czar beholds the funeral procession of the fallen Russian fortresses.

[English Cartoon]

Grit



—From *Punch, London*.

The morning after the Zeppelin raid in our village.

[German Cartoon]

The Little Father's Duma



—(C) Jugend.

Wouldn't it be simpler henceforth to convene the Duma in Siberia?

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Event

From September 12, 1915, Up to and Including

October 12, 1915

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Sept. 13—Hindenburg reaches the Rovno-Petrograd Railway between Vilna and Dvinsk.

Sept. 14—Russians take offensive in South Russia.

Sept. 16—Mackensen's army occupies Pinsk; Hindenburg drives the Russians across the Dvina north of Pinsk.

Sept. 18—Austrians are withdrawing in the sector of the Volhynian triangle of fortresses northeast of Lemberg.

Sept. 20—Germans occupy Vilna, and Hindenburg's forces reach Vileika; German artillery shells Serbian positions on the south bank of the Danube near Semendria.

Sept. 21—The Russian Vilna army, which has been threatened with annihilation, escapes.

Sept. 25—Russians retake Lutsk; Russians repulse repeated assaults on the city of Dvinsk.

Sept. 26—Germans suspend attacks on Dvinsk and become active east of Lida and Vilna.

Sept. 27—Russians repulse Hindenburg's armies.

Sept. 28—Linsingen recaptures Lutsk and crosses the Styr; the German drive at Dvinsk is resumed; Austrians in Galicia are driven back.

Sept. 29—Anglo-French troops, intended for service in Serbia, are being landed at Saloniki, Greece; large forces of Austro-Germans are advancing on Serbia.

Sept. 30—Russians drive back Germans in the Dvinsk region.

Oct. 1—Russians check German offensive along the whole front from Riga to Pinsk.

Oct. 2—Russians gain on the Vilna front.

Oct. 3—Seventy thousand French troops have been landed at Saloniki; Russians are rolling back Hindenburg's armies.

Oct. 4—Russians retake many villages, driving Austro-Germans back both in the north and south.

Oct. 6—Russians attack Austrians along the Bessarabian frontier.

Oct. 7—An Austro-German army of 400,000 attacks Serbia, and forces the passage of the Danube, Save, and Drina rivers.

Oct. 8—Serians check the Austro-Germans, inflicting considerable losses; Russian armies attack along the whole line.

Oct. 9—Hindenburg makes further progress toward Dvinsk.

Oct. 10—Teutonic allies under Mackensen capture Belgrade and drive Serians back along the Danube; the Entente allies are rushing up troops.

Oct. 11—Serians force back the German right wing across the Drina with heavy loss, but the main invading force pushes on.

Oct. 12—Austro-Germans complete the crossing of the Danube in force and are sweeping into Serbia.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.

Sept. 18—French artillery severs at St. Mihiel the "great bridge" across the Meuse.

Sept. 20—Artillery duels in progress along most of the front.

Sept. 21—French make gains in Champagne and Lorraine.

Sept. 24—French make gains at several points.

Sept. 25—Entente allies attack on a 300-mile front; British gain ground near Loos, while French advance in Champagne.

Sept. 26—Allies continue a general attack, taking the offensive from the sea to Verdun; they smash twenty miles of German front; the greatest advances are made in Champagne and north of Arras; Souchez and Loos are taken.

Sept. 27—Allies' offensive continues and they hold their gains; British are fighting east of Loos; French attack in Champagne; Allies have taken 70 guns and 23,000 prisoners; Berlin says the allied drive is a failure.

Sept. 28—Allies continue the offensive.

Sept. 29—Allies continue the offensive in Artois and Champagne.

Sept. 30—French make further gains in Champagne, piercing the second German line; 121 guns have been taken in five days by the Allies.

Oct. 4—Germans gain ground by counter-attacks near Lens and near Givenchy.

Oct. 6—French take Tahure in Champagne, in the second German line.

Oct. 8—French make more gains in Champagne.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

Sept. 22—Italians dislodge Austrians from the Dolomite Valley.

Sept. 23—Austrian garrison evacuates Monte Coston, after holding it for months.
 Sept. 28—Italians check several Austrian attempts to advance.
 Sept. 29—Austrians attacks in the Tolmino zone are repulsed; Italian attacks near Dolje are repulsed.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN.

Sept. 16—Official British figures show British casualties at the Dardanelles to have been 87,630 up to Aug. 21.
 Sept. 23—It is reported that 110,000 more French and British soldiers have been sent to the Dardanelles.
 Sept. 29—British defeat Turks on the Tigris, the Turks retreating toward Bagdad.
 Oct. 3—Russians advance in the region of Van, in the Caucasus.

NAVAL RECORD.

Sept. 19—British squadron shells Belgian coast defenses; one German submarine sinks another by mistake.
 Sept. 21—Strict orders have been issued to commanders of German submarines that, in case of doubt as to intentions of liners, they are to take the safe course and permit the ship to escape rather than run the slightest risk of error; Russians sink a German submarine in the Black Sea.
 Sept. 23—In a new note to the United States on the Frye case, Germany declares that visit and search will be made hereafter, and that she will not molest American ships carrying conditional contraband.
 Sept. 24—German submarines sink five British steamers.
 Sept. 25—Russian squadron bombards German land positions on the Gulf of Riga; British squadron shells Zeebrugge.
 Sept. 27—American sailing ship Vincent is sunk by a mine off Cape Orloff, on the White Sea coast of Russia, four seamen being injured.
 Oct. 1—Official reports to the United States Government show that between fifty and seventy German submarines have been sunk by the British through new devices.
 Oct. 4—Austrian submarine sinks a British steamer off the coast of Greece.
 Oct. 5—Germany disavows the sinking of the Arabic and promises reparation; German submarines sink two British steamers.
 Oct. 7—Russian cruisers are bombarding the Bulgarian port of Varna, so unconfirmed reports state, this, if done, being the beginning of hostilities as to Bulgaria.

AERIAL RECORD.

Sept. 13—German aeroplane bombards the coast of Kent.
 Sept. 19—Italian dirigibles drop forty bombs on Aisovizza.
 Sept. 22—French aviators bombard Stuttgart, killing four persons and wounding others.
 Sept. 23—French aeroplane squadrons attack German bases in Lorraine and the Argonne.

Oct. 3—French aeroplanes bombard the railroad depot and military buildings in Luxembourg.

Oct. 9—Italian aeroplane squadrons bombard several Austrian positions.

ARMENIA.

Oct. 7—Lord Bryce tells the British House of Lords that 800,000 Armenians have been killed by the Turks.

BULGARIA.

Sept. 16—Entente allies present a note to Bulgaria demanding that she declare herself as between them and the central powers.

Sept. 21—General mobilization is ordered.

Sept. 28—Great Britain warns Bulgaria that the Allies will attack if she attempts aggression.

Oct. 3—Russia sends a note to Bulgaria stating that she will withdraw her Minister unless Bulgaria breaks with the central powers within twenty-four hours.

Oct. 5—The Russian, French, British, Italian, and Serbian Ministers demand their passports, Bulgaria's answer to the Russian ultimatum being unsatisfactory.

GERMANY.

Sept. 24—The total subscriptions to the third German war loan are \$3,000,000,000, so it is stated by Finance Minister Helfferich, which makes the total war loan subscriptions \$6,250,000,000.

Oct. 2—Prussian casualties now total 1,916, 148.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Sept. 21—Greatest war budget in the world's history is introduced in the House of Commons; the war is now costing Great Britain nearly \$25,000,000 daily.

GREECE.

Sept. 25—Greece orders mobilization of her army and navy, in reply to the Bulgarian mobilization.

Oct. 6—Premier Venizelos resigns, when the King informs him he cannot support his war policy.

UNITED STATES.

Sept. 17—Austrian Ambassador Dumba, in a letter to Secretary Lansing, protests that he has been treated unjustly.

Sept. 27—Austria agrees to recall Ambassador Dumba.

Sept. 28—It is officially announced that arrangements have been completed between an Anglo-French financial commission and a syndicate of American bankers for a short-term loan of \$500,000,000, as a direct obligation of the British and French Governments.

Oct. 5—Ambassador Dumba sails from New York for home.